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COBBETT'S

WEEKLY REGISTER.

Political

VOLUME XXVII.

FROM OCTOBER TO DECEMBER, 1823.

LONDON:

Printed and published by G. CLEMENT, No. 163, Fleet Street.

1823.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY REGISTER.

Vol. 48. No. 1.] LONDON, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1823. [P. 62.]

Published every Saturday Morning, at Seven o' Clock.



"This Bill (Mr. Peel's) was grounded on concurrent Reports of both Houses; it was passed by unanimous votes of both Houses; it was, at the close of the Session, a subject of high eulogium in the Speaker's Speech to the Regent, and in the Regent's Speech to the two Houses: now, then, I, William Cobbett, assert, that, to carry this Bill into effect is impossible; and I say, that, if this Bill be carried into full effect, I will give Castlereagh a good whipping on a Gridiron and broil me alive, while Sidmouth may stir the coals, and Canning stand by and laugh at my groans." Taken from Cobbett's Register, written at North Hempstead, Long Island, on the 24th of September, 1819, and published in England in November, 1819.

TO MR. PEEL.

LETTER II.

Showing that his Bill has not been carried into effect.

Kenington, October 1, 1823.

SIR,

THIS Letter must do that which I proposed to do in my last; namely, prove, that the opinion,

expressed in the above motto, has been verified, instead of having been falsified, as has been so many thousand times asserted by the lying and ignorant and prostituted press of the Wen. My assertion, as I stated it before, was, that it was impossible to carry your Bill into full effect; and, I am now going to prove, that it has not been carried into

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full effect; but, that it has been, as to a material part of its object, repealed by subsequent Acts of Parliament.

I said enough in my last Register about Mr. BROUGHAM's press, and I have only further to observe, with regard to that infamous thing, that, amongst all the mischiefs which it has done, I do not know that I can find one to surpass the mischiefs which it has done to the farmers and landlords; and, indeed, any to equal this; because this has been and will be productive of more injustice and misery than any other. In this case, I shall, however, confine myself to a narrow view of its operations. It has, as I have observed in the first paragraph of my last letter, been for months, exulting in what it calls, *the falsification of my prophecies*. It has published, according to its usual custom, lies of all sizes and in all shapes. It has extracted, or, rather, pretended to extract, words from my writings, which are not to be found in those writings. It

has put forth five hundred lies, perhaps, each of them as complete a lie as the butcher's shop lie. The vile wretches of the press have known, that all well-informed men would know that these were lies; but these miscreant dealers in paragraphs, these prostituted venders of praise at so much an inch, these vile wretches, worse than SHIMEI's "dead dog;" these worse than toads or tadpoles or any thing most poisonous and disgusting; these creatures well knew, that a large part of their readers were not, as to those matters, well informed; and as to contempt; as to the contempt of wise and good men, what cared they for that, if it were unattended with a diminution of their profits? According to Walter's own declaration, "The rascals would sell their country, if they could get a farthing by it."

That which encouraged them to enter upon these strings of lies and other efforts of delusion was the rise, which, about the middle

of winter, took place in the price of corn, and, indeed, in the price of all the produce of the land. I had all along insisted that the fall in the price of the produce was the effect of your Bill. Others, and the bullocking press along with those others, had maintained the contrary. The moment, therefore, that prices took a rise, out came the cure full cry; "There! there! he is wrong; for the Bill is still in force, and prices have risen!" Excessively stupid beasts as the London newspaper people are, they could not say this from ignorance alone. It was impossible for them to believe, that I could ever have thought that your Bill would prevent bad crops or bad harvest weather. It was impossible for them to believe, that I could ever have thought, that your Bill would prevent blight or mildew. The "caitiffs," as WALTER himself calls them, the "wretches," as he calls them, could believe none of this. But, indeed, they knew well that I had never said any such

thing, and they knew, that, on the contrary, when speaking of the low state to which prices would come, I always spoke of an average of years; that I expressly observed, that I spoke, barring the effect of seasons; and that, upon more than one occasion, I said expressly, that, if the cash-payments continued, I expected the bushel of wheat to vibrate between three shillings and seven. And yet, the moment the wheat got even to six, the "caitiffs," Mr. Brougham's "highly respectable people," who call one another "rascals and forgers," bellowed out, that my predictions were falsified!

Then came the first of May, and your Bill was still unrepealed. Oh! there I was a false prophet in a still greater degree; and some of the "caitiffs," as WALTER justly calls them, published witty accounts of my being broiled, a thing which was done with more than ordinary display by the "caitiff and rascal" of the READING MERCURY, under the auspices,

no doubt, of the "*caitiffs*," who, in that town, carry on the farce of "*purity of election*," and who are constantly employed in endeavours to get at a share of the pickings out of the public granary. But, hang the "*rascals*:" let us leave them, and come to our subject; namely, the proof, that your Bill *has not been carried into full effect*.

I may observe, that, if the Bill *had gone into full effect*, we must have waited to see the consequences, before we pronounced the opinion to have been falsified; for, what was clearly the meaning of my words? Why, that it was impossible to carry the Bill into full effect without producing effects so terrible that no one could think of them without horror. I should have said, it is impossible that

Mr. CARLILE's sister should, under the name of a *fine*, be kept in gaol for life. And, if she were so to be kept, would any one accuse me of having given a *false opinion*? Mr. PAINE said, in 1796, that the Bank *could not*

pay its notes, if called upon. He said, if the people begin to distrust the Bank, they will run for gold; and, if they do this, away goes the bubble; away goes Bank and away go boroughmongers."

The distrust arose the next year; the run for gold took place; the Bank could not pay; but, the bubble remained; the Bank and the boroughmongers did not go.

Yet, was this opinion of Mr. PAINE falsified? Oh, no! For, who was to expect, that a Ministry would have been found to propose, a Parliament to sanction, and a people to endure "*Bank-restriction*?" Therefore, even if your Bill had been carried into full effect, we must have looked to consequences, before we pronounced the opinion of the contrary to be ill-founded.

When we, in talking of public measures, or, indeed of any acts, say that it is impossible to do or execute them, we mean, and the world understands us as meaning, that it is impossible to do or execute them without producing

something so destructive as to make it monstrously foolish or wicked to think of doing or executing them. I once, in writing to

a person, and upon this very subject too, observed, "When I say

"that they *cannot* do it, you will

"understand, of course, that I

"mean, that they *can* do it; but

"that, they cannot do it *without*

"producing something very much

"like their own destruction." I say,

that you cannot swallow fire.

I know you can swallow fire; but, my

meaning is that you cannot swallow

fire without destroying your-

self. In short, that which is mani-

festly against right, against rea-

son, against the interest of the

parties who are to act, and evi-

dently calculated to produce the

destruction of themselves and

all belonging to them, we say

is *impossible*; though we know

that the thing may be done;

that it is within the power of the

parties to do it. My meaning

clearly was, that it was impos-

sible to carry the Bill into full

effect without producing most

dreadful mischiefs in the country, without producing confusion, and, finally, a blowing up of the Government itself.

Now, this, as far as the Bill has gone, has been the effect of

it. This is notorious; and; there-

fore, I assert with truth clearly on

my side, that even if the Bill had

been carried into full effect, the

prediction would not have been

falsified. But, it has been carried

into full effect. It has not been

repealed *expressly*. No law has

been passed to say, that Peel's

Bill should be repealed; or that

any part of it should be repealed;

but laws have been passed to nul-

lify your Bill; to render it of no

effect; to prevent its principal

object from being accomplished;

and what is it to me whether the

Bill be repealed by name, or set

aside without being named?

I observed once before, that the

SMALL NOTE BILL passed in

1822; that the Small Note Bill

passed last year: I observed once

before that this Bill was, in fact,

a repeal of your Bill in part; and

that it would necessarily lessen the fall of prices, which I had expected to take place immediately after the first of May 1823. Before the passing of the Small Note Bill, I always told my readers to look out sharp for the month of May 1823, when the country rag-men would be compelled to pay their cash in gold. The Small Note Bill made an alteration in the prospect. It procured a little respite for the THING. I shall show by-and-by how this Small Note Bill works, how the rag fellows put it forth as a sort of legal tender Bill; I shall show how it works as a respite; and, if I can find time, I will show that it cannot prevent the ultimate blowing up of the bubble; I shall show that it only *blunts the edge of your scythe*, and does not permit it to cut quite so fast as it would have cut; I shall show that it cannot save the overhauling course from destruction; I shall show that it cannot prevent the Jews and jobbers from having the estates of the jokers; but, before we go

any farther, let us have before us the full, true, and curious history of this Bill.

In the year 1775 (we go a great way back), an Act was passed to restrain the issuing of small promissory notes and bills of exchange. The preamble of this Bill says, "Whereas various notes, &c. &c. have for some time past been circulated in lieu of cash to the great prejudice of His Majesty's subjects." The Bill goes on then to inflict pecuniary penalties for the issuing of such small notes; this Act is chap. 51, year 15, of Geo. 3. Two years afterwards, 17 Geo. 3. chap. 29. another Act was passed, recapitulating the enactments of the other Act, then declaring, that "Whereas the said Act hath been attended with very salutary effects." The Bill then goes on to enact that no promissory note shall be issued for an amount under five pounds, and to make all such notes void, and then to inflict penalties for issuing such notes. In the year 1797; that is, in the twenty-seventh year of the

late "good old King," an Act (chap. 16. of that year) was passed to make the two former Acts perpetual, because "the said Acts have been found to be useful and beneficial."

Very well, then; so far so good. People were in the habit of issuing small notes, an Act was passed to prevent this, in the fifteenth year of the "good old King." That Act having been found to be "very salutary," another Act was passed in the seventeenth year of the "good old King," in order to push this salutary restraint somewhat further. The Acts were passed for a limited time; but in the twenty-seventh year of the "good old King" they were made perpetual, because they had been found to be useful and beneficial to His Majesty's subjects. Curious, indeed, to observe, that just ten years after the passing of this last Act of the "good old King," another Act of the "good old King" was passed to suspend, that is to say, to set aside all these Acts, so very salutary and so useful and be-

neficial to His Majesty's subjects.

Now then, what was this done for? Why, because the Bank had no gold to pay with. It was in the year 1797; the thirty-seventh year of the "good old King," chap. 33, of that year. It was absolutely necessary to set these salutary, useful and beneficial laws aside; because a law was now passed to protect the Bank against the note-holders that came for gold and silver. It was useless to pass one Act without the other. In short, if the salutary laws about small notes had not been suspended, there must have been an instant stop, for there would have been no money at all to circulate.

This suspension on acting aside, having once taken place, it was necessarily continued. First it was passed for six weeks; then for two or three months; then to the end of that session of Parliament, then to the beginning of the next session, and soon after that it was suspended until six months

after the termination of the then war. Well, peace came in 1802; and then the suspension was continued again for a year; and, in short, they went on suspending till March 1805, when they passed a Bill to suspend further until six months after the termination of the then war. The then war having terminated in 1814, the suspension was again continued until 1816. In this year, the fifty-sixth year of the "good old King," the Act was revived and continued again; but not now for any fixed period; but **UNTIL TWO YEARS AFTER THE EXPIRATION OF THE RESTRICTION UPON PAYMENTS IN CASH BY THE "BANK OF ENGLAND."** Now, also, or at least in the previous Act, a very material alteration took place, if it be possible, really and truly, to understand these Acts piled on upon one another in the manner in which they are continuing, reciting, doubling up and doubling down, as they everlastingly are. Let us,

however, have the Act itself. They draught all mention of the Act passed in the fifteenth year of the late King's reign; and, indeed, it was not necessary to mention it, because by prohibiting the issue of all notes under five pounds, the issuing of one pound notes was necessarily included. Let us have the *Small Note Act* for word for word. It is a little thing; but a thing of very great importance, and one that we shall have frequently to revert to as "*Small Note Act*." Whereas an Act was passed in the seventeenth year of the reign of his late Majesty King George the Third, for restraining, for a limited time, the circulation of Promissory Notes of and Issued Bills of Exchange for twenty shillings, or any sum of money above that sum, and under five pounds; And whereas the said Act was by an Act passed in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of his said late Majesty made perpetual; And whereas, by an act passed in

"the thirty-seventh year of the
 "reign of his said late Majesty;
 "the said first recited Act; so far
 "as the same relates to the making
 "void of Promissory Notes, drafts,
 "or undertakings in writing, pay-
 "able on demand to the bearer
 "thereof, for any sum less than
 "the sum of five pounds in the
 "whole; and also to the restrain-
 "ing the publishing or uttering
 "and negotiating of any such
 "notes, drafts, or undertakings;
 "as aforesaid, was suspended
 "until the first day of May then
 "next; and whereas the said Act
 "of the thirty-seventh year of the
 "reign of his late Majesty hath
 "many several subsequent Acts been
 "enacted, and is now in force
 "and effect, and it is expedient
 "that the same should be further
 "continued; Be it therefore enact-
 "ed by the King's most excellent
 "Majesty, by and with the advice
 "and consent of the Lords spi-
 "ritual and temporal, and Com-

mons, in this present Parliament
 assembled, and by the authority
 of the same; That the said Act
 of the thirty-seventh year of
 the reign of his late Majesty,
 so far as the same suspends
 the said Act of the seventeenth
 year of the reign of his late
 Majesty, shall be FURTHER
 CONTINUED UNTIL THE
 FIFTH DAY OF JANUARY
 ONE THOUSAND EIGHT
 HUNDRED AND THIRTY-
 THREE.

This Act was passed just before
 the close of the Session of Parlia-
 ment before the last, and just
 about three or four weeks before
 Castlereagh cut his throat. There
 was a great bustle and noise in
 the lookery of country gentlemen,
 while this Act was passing. The
 Bank had begun to pay in specie,
 on the first of May 1821. Your
 famous Bill permitted me to begin
 paying in specie on the first of
 May 1822; but it was not to pay in
 bullion at the same price; that is
 to say, at 17s. 10d. for an
 ounce of gold; or, rather, to give

an ounce of gold for that sum in 1822. I thought it was a time
its notes. The Bank chose, there-
fore, to be permitted to pay in
sovereigns, seeing that people
began to come in for the gold bars.
An Act was passed, therefore,
early in 1821, to enable the Bank
to begin paying in gold in 1821.
The "restriction on cash pay-
ments by the Bank" ceased, there-
fore, on the 1st of May 1821; so
that, according to that Act of Par-
liament, which was, as we have
seen above, passed in the year
1818, according to that Act, all
notes under five pounds were to
be paid on demand; there were to
be no more of them, in two years
after the Bank began to pay in
cash; in two years after the expi-
ration of the restriction upon pay-
ments in cash by the Bank of
England.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the
anxiety of merchants was all in a
hurry in the year 1822. I thought
(for I had not then seen the Act of
1818), that the small notes were
to be permitted to be made under
two years after the 1st of May

fixed, and was not aware that it
was to be so long after the com-
mencement of cash payments at
the Bank. The Act of 1818 was
passed in troublesome times, and
I was soon afterwards in America;
so that I missed it, and I sur-
posed, of course, when I put
forth my opinion quoted in the
above note, that the small notes
were to cease, seeing that it
was intended merely on account
of the absence of gold, and seeing
that your bill was not withdrawn
of value. An Act for the resump-
tion of Cash Payments, meant, of
course, to produce cash pay-
ments, and not that all notes pay-
ments. To pass an Act for the
issuing of small notes, was, to be
sure, the object of the Act.
It was the object of the Act of
1818, to enable the Bank to
pay in gold. However, I mean not to avail
myself of my want of knowledge
of the provision of the law of

1816. We will take the whole thing just as it stood after your Bill was passed. And, how did the thing stand? What was the state of the concern? How stood the law, in the autumn of 1819? It stood thus: your Bill was passed with a preamble, declaring that it was expedient to provide for the payment of the promissory notes of the Bank of England in the legal coin of the realm. It enacted, that there should be no shuffling and cutting on the part of the Bank, after the first of May 1822. It enacted, that the Bank should then pay in gold and silver. It took away all the shuffling of legal tender after the 1st of May 1822. This was your Bill. Then there was the Small Note Law. But first, let me observe that your Bill permitted the Bank to begin paying in coin on the 1st of May 1822. It was manifest that they would pay in coin at that time, because if they paid in bullion, they would lose a great deal by it. They gain by the winning; and were therefore to pay in coin as soon

as they possibly could after the time arrived for their paying in bullion at the Mint price. However, they procured an alteration in the law; they obtained the liberty of paying in coin a year sooner than your Act permitted; and, therefore, on the 1st of May 1822 the existence of all notes under five pounds was to cease.

This was the state of the thing when I put forth the above opinion. That opinion was founded upon the provisions contained in two Acts of Parliament; namely, the Act which (will, I repeat, in your name, and the Small Note Act of 1816, being year 56 of Geo. III. chap. 21. With regard to the first of these Acts, there has been no positive repeal, except in as far as relates to the 8th clause of it, which permitted the Bank to pay in gold on the 1st of May 1822; but, with respect to the small note law, it has been totally set aside. No wonder, then, was such a saving in the reckoning of the nation: no wonder, they were all comparing up an law.

don, and poking about after little Van, like a parcel of little pigs nozzling an old sow: no wonder that little Van and the wise and enlightened Castlereagh that cut his throat so soon afterwards: no wonder that they were in such a bustle about a Small Note Bill; for if they had suffered the Parliament to separate last year *without passing that Bill*, there would not have been a ragman in the kingdom whose shop would not have been shut up in a month afterwards. The law, as it then stood, and as it stood when I put forth my opinion, will put an end to the ragmen; there could not have been on the 1st of May last one single small note in the kingdom. The small note law has established the ragmen; that is, to say, if it shall please the Lord to protect them against *puffs out* and all other accidents: the small note Bill has established the ragmen for ten years longer: that is, to say, for many years after their rags and the whole of the System will be blown to the devil.

Now, then, is not here a repeal, not of your Bill by name; but of another law, the repealing of which causes, in effect, a repeal of a considerable part of the very essence of your Bill. If a law were passed, *repealing the laws* were passed by the Collective Wisdom of the nation for the knocking down of Westminster Bridge on the 1st of May next; and if another law were passed by the Collective to command people to pass on foot, in carriages and on horseback, from Bridge street, Westminster directly to Lambeth Marsh Gate, after the 1st of May next, having these two laws before me, I assert that it is impossible to carry the second law into effect. I assert this in the most positive manner, I know; saying that the Bill must be repealed. But behold! before the 1st of May arrives, the Collective Wisdom pass a law, ordering the Brides to stand for another ten years! Aye, aye! The second law can now be carried into full effect: people can go right across to the Marsh Gate

on foot, on horseback, and in carriages; but who except the infamous "*cattiffs*," as Walter calls them, of the London press, who but these "*cattiffs*, wretches, forgers, worse than spies, extortioners of money, knaves, liars and rascals;" who but the fellows of which Walter speaks thus, would endeavour to make the readers believe that my opinion had been falsified?

Besides the repeal of the Small Note Bill, besides the new permission to issue the base rags, the present Small Note Bill, or, rather, the state of the law with regard to the small notes, is much more in favour of the rag-rookery than the state of the law was, under the former Small Note Bills. According to those Bills, people might have small notes; but, if they were not paid in gold and silver in three days after demand, any justice of the peace might order payment with costs, and on neglect to pay, on the part of the note issuer, such justice might order the amount to be levied by

distress on his goods and chattels.

By subsequent acts the *three* days were extended to *seven* days; but now this summary mode of proceeding is *swept away altogether*, and any rag-rook may compel you to bring your action at law, before he will give you gold for his rags.

So that here is another thing in the way of destroying the effect of your Bill. Here then is something approaching as nearly as possible to *legal tender*. The law does not say so. The law does not say that the tender of notes shall be a legal tender; but, by taking away the summary proceeding, it does in fact, take away the means of men in moderate circumstances compelling ragmen to pay for their rags. The Bank of England is protected in the same manner. There is no *legal* protection as I said before: nothing express; nothing positive: but, like all the rest of the system, a sly, undermining, base, malignant, destructive influence is every where set to work.

Having now most satisfactorily proved, that your Bill *has not been carried into full effect*; having given a proof of the ignorance or falsehood or both of Mr. BROUGHAM'S "highly respectable" owners of the press, I should, if I had time, proceed to show that this trick about the small notes, though it has given the System a respite, will and can do nothing more for it. There is not a man in the kingdom that will deny, that the *whole system would at this moment have been blown up*, if the stern-path-men had dared to let the law remain what it was at the time when *I promulgated my opinion*. There is not a man in the kingdom that will deny this; and this being the case, what an impudent varlet must that be who pretends to represent that opinion as falsified.

The rag-rookery have not, however, *gained much* by this expedient. They are a very stupid crew, generally speaking; but they will not fail to discover very soon, that their rags serve merely

to prevent an absolute *blowing up*. They cannot do much more. While the Jews can go to the Bank, and get what gold they please in exchange for paper, the ragmen cannot send forth their rags *to any considerable amount*. Sufficient, for a while, at least, to prevent wheat from falling down to *three shillings a bushel*: sufficient for that perhaps; but not sufficient for much more. The Small Note Bill may, for a time do, what I thought and said it would do; namely, keep prices from falling much lower than the average of the last eighteen months or two years. But that is *all* that it can do. It cannot make prices *rise*. It cannot make the lot of the farmer and the landlord better: it can only prevent its becoming worse. This is the very best that it can do; and, in the meanwhile, the whole of the manufacture of rags is exposed to a *puff out*; and that, too, without any thing that any one can call a crime; and, indeed by means, the putting of which into execution would re-

ceive the praise of every honest and honourable man.

In 1819, you enacted that you would return to cash payments; that you would return to the ancient currency of the country; in 1822, you enacted that you would have small notes payment for another ten years. But, though the attempt was made, you had not the courage to enact that you would have a compulsory paper-money; and, not having that, you cannot have other than low prices. Any one of the selfish villains, who are hung up for forgery, might, if he were a public spirited man, instead of being a base wretch that deserves a halter, and that really goes out of the world in the most suitable manner possible; any one of these, might put an end to the rag-rakery in a week. But, such a man as Sir FRANCIS BURDETT might do it in a day; and do it legally, and set and laugh all the while, as we do at the workings of a parcel of wasps on which we have poured scalding water. A man has nothing

to do but to take a few thousand pounds, send some people with them to the different towns in a county; exchange sovereigns for country rags, and then pour in the rags and drag out sovereigns. I know a little town containing a little nest of rag-rooks, and I will go one of these days myself, and throw it into confusion. I will excite as much alarm as would be excited by the landing of the French army.

What a pretty sort of a thing is this, then? What security can there be; what safety in such a state of things? Talk of war, indeed, when the very existence of the State is thus made to hang upon a mere rag. Nay, so slender is the hold, that it is broken in a moment, if the main-body of the people come at the knowledge of the real state of the case. Take the country throughout, there is not more than one person in a hundred, who knows that the notes are not still a legal tender. All the present men, or, at least, the far greater part of them, were

but mere boys, when Bank notes were first made a legal tender. The people in general, have no idea, that they can *compel* a ragman to give them gold for his rags. In this respect the Small Note Bill has aided the reception. Some people think, that the legal tender would have been at an end, if it had not been for that Bill. Such persons should be informed, that that Bill did not, except in the way above mentioned, alter the law as to the legality of tender. That Bill made it lawful to make an issue of small notes after the 1st of May 1823, and thereby did, in effect, repeal your Bill as to one of its material objects. But it did not make Bank notes a legal tender after the 1st of May. They are not now a legal tender. Any body may refuse to take them. To tender them will not stop an action for debt, nor relieve the defendant from costs. They are of no value in payments of any kind. Bank of England notes, or country notes, it is still the same; they are

of no value in any payments, or in the tender for any debt. They are a villanous, base and dirty thing. They ought not to be touched by any man, and he who does touch them deserves to lose by them. A correspondent asked me some time ago, whether a person paying Bank notes was answerable for their goodness *ten days after*. I wish every person paying Bank notes or receiving Bank notes, were liable to a good horsewhipping every day for ten days after. *Reason* says that no man ought to be made answerable for any thing called money, after it has been out of his hands ten days; but little, indeed, has reason to do with the traffic, in so vile a thing as Bank notes.

The rookery of ragmen, who know well that their traffic is over the moment the people clearly understand the law. They know well that if it be once understood by the people at large, that the holders of notes may have gold for them when they choose, that

there is an end of their concern.

The following dialogue sent me by a good honest weaver from Yorkshire, affords a pretty good specimen of the conduct of the ragmen:—

"Sir,—I have had something like an encounter with the Clerk of ——— and Co's Bank, at ———, Yorkshire, relative to a demand of sovereigns in exchange for their notes, from whence arose the following dialogue:—

"R. S.—*To the Clerk.*—

"Sir, I have got eight of your notes of one pound each, for which I wish you to give me eight sovereigns.

"Clerk.—Would not guineas do!

"R. S.—Would you give me eight guineas for the eight notes?

"Clerk.—No; but if you will give me eight shillings, I will give you eight guineas.

"R. S.—That I will not do: neither can you compel me to give you eight shillings. But dare you refuse giving me sovereigns?

"Clerk.—Yes.

"R. S.—I will thank you to do it. The Clerk then brought me seven guineas, a half-sovereign,

and three shillings in silver. I asked him if the guineas were full weight; he answered they were; we never pay any but what are full weight. I then told him I should have them weighed, and if found too light I should carry them back; upon which he told me he would change any that was not full weight.

"Now, Sir, as I am not certain whether guineas be a legal tender, I will thank you if you will favour me with your opinion on the subject, in your next Register published after this comes to hand, if you have the convenience; if not, in any succeeding one in which you may find such convenience; and you will much oblige a constant reader of the Register, &c. &c.

"R. S.—

"N. B. I have, with a few other friends, all poor weavers, drawn from the Bank, since the 1st of May, 114 sovereigns, and they seem not to like it."

Excellent good fellows! These men ought to have gold; for they are worth their weight in gold. A hundred and fourteen sovereigns, a few poor weavers were able to get out, between the first of May and the thirtieth of July. Let the

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selfish forging rascals hang by the neck like dogs: these weavers are the men; and if only a thousandth part, even of the weavers, were to follow the excellent example of these men, we should have a really return to the ancient currency of the country, and the rookery of rage and roguery would be completely broken up.

A *puff* out now would be a thing very different from what a *puff* out would have been before your Bill was passed. If a *puff*

but had taken place then, there would not have been a sixpence to pay the soldiers with. The Government would have fallen down as in a third apopleptic fit.

Now the case is different. The old Mother in Threadneedle-street has sold; and she having sold, the Government would not be without some money at any rate, that would be taken in exchange for bread, meat and beer. But though it would not cause the Government to drop down dead, it would make its head swim prodigiously. Gold must come. I have no idea

that there could be a good sweep-
ing run upon a parcel of the banks in Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Kent, without producing a general run in the course of a week; and a general run, producing as it necessarily would a great number of bankruptcies and great losses, would totally extinguish the paper currency; and this would bring down the price of wheat to, perhaps, half-a-crown a bushel.

Now, Sir, do you think that the country will remain at peace five years longer? It is, indeed, very clear, that you mean to submit to any thing, though the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in one of his rustic *lunaticisms*, asserts that the country will be willing and able to maintain her greatness and her glory; while he was saying this, your other colleague, the little red lion gentleman, was crawling upon his belly to an American crowd, or some such thing. It must be manifest that you mean to crawl most surprisingly; but will, as I have heard you say of our another five years? Not at all. And,

if you have war, are you infatuated enough to believe, that your enemy, if your paper lasts so long, will not puff you out? The Americans understand all about this matter as well as they understand the properties of Indian meal, rum, and molasses. They would puff you out in a twinkling. And, indeed, what enemy would not? So that here is a pretty security for a powerful kingdom.

In the meanwhile, the people should be resolved not to suffer the rag-roads to shuffle them off. Guineas and half guineas, being the legal coin of the realm, are legal tender, and silver to the amount of forty shillings. But all this coin is very good. People may see that it is full weight; and we have an instance in the conduct of these good fellows in Yorkshire, of what even poor men may do. They want cheap provisions. They have it completely in their own power to make provisions much cheaper than they are. They may, if they will,

totally destroy the effect of the Small Note Bill. They may, if they please, put an end at once to the circulation of the small note rags. They have nothing to do but to carry every rag they get, and to have it exchanged for gold and silver. They must pay these away again. No matter: they will be out; and that is all that is wanted. A drain will be made hereby upon the Mother Bank; she must draw in more paper; a lowering of prices will be occasioned; the farmers and landlords receive a new and furious pinch; a clamour is excited; projects of relief are broached; and the horrid **THING** rocks to its very base.

It is surprising how much more men are prone to talk than to act. If only a hundred thousandth part of the people would do what I do in this respect, there would soon be an end of all disputes about paper-money, and a single stock-jobber would not be left upon the face of the earth. The weavers of any considerable town might effect these desirable objects; but

as long as men talk, and do nothing but talk, it were full as well if they held their tongues. I never take a piece of paper-money, except from necessity; and, if I can avoid it, I never let it remain an hour in my possession. If I see anybody with bank notes, town or country, and find them too lazy to get them changed, I change them for them, if I have sovereigns, and do not mind sending or going a few miles to get the coin out of the hands of the ragmen. If a ragman were to refuse me coin, I would post him all over the country. I would stand at his door and holla out: Here! this rag-rook don't pay his notes according to law! The labouring people do not know that they have a right to do this. Why, the shoemakers alone, who have never shewn themselves deficient either in sense or in public spirit; the shoemakers alone would overset this rag affair in a week. Nay, the shoemakers of only ten considerable towns would, if they chose, produce a panic which would give us

that inestimable blessing, which you, Sir, so zealously contended for, which we must have before it be long, and, which that we may have very soon is, the ardent prayer of, Sir,

Your most obedient and

Most humble Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

POSTSCRIPT.—Since writing the above, the following article has reached me, through the DUBLIN MERCANTILE ADVERTISER. It is well worthy of particular attention, and of some remarks when we have read it.

"We believe we can at length congratulate our readers, not only upon the prospect, but the certainty of a fair average harvest; perhaps, taking one species of grain with another, of a harvest even beyond an average—and give us leave here to add, that though upon a subject such as this it was unsafe to say much, yet our impression always was, that the present would be a prosperous year for that portion of the poor who feed occasionally on Bread, and who live in towns and cities. How the consequent low prices, which we may now regard as certain, will operate upon other interests, we shall have occasion, perhaps, to discuss before we conclude this article; but we have no hesitation at the very outset to say that it cannot be worse for the landlords, than a short or damaged crop would be, while for the people in general there is no occasion to insist that it will prove infinitely better.

"Wheat, which one month ago was 68 shillings a quarter, is now 50. But it is clear, that in consequence of the hurry of the harvest, a hurry rendered quite feverish on account of its lateness, and the great uncertainty of the weather at this season, the farmers, pressed as they have been, could not find time to supply the markets. It is very likely, therefore, that all grain will fall much lower before the lapse of another month. We take the English Markets, for obvious reasons, as a criterion, for our own must follow them. It is to be observed, also, that very little as yet, if any, new Irish grain has gotten into the English market.

"Now we would beg to put this serious question: If, as seems probable, the markets before Christmas shall come down to the point at which they stood last winter, what will become of such farmers as have survived the crash of last autumn? It is very well known that in England the price now obtained for corn would not remunerate the grower, *even though he paid no rent*. We speak quite advisedly, for though we have not the tables now before us, by which we should be enabled to demonstrate this assertion, we have a perfect recollection of their results. For 4 or 5 years the system has been going on—for 4 or 5 years *regularly*, the farmers have been breaking. During that time thousands have passed through the Insolvent Courts, and several, we are assured, have been domiciled in the workhouse. Several, too, have fled to America and the Colonies—and some, we are informed, are going to France. The present year, however, will be likely to prove more generally fatal than any of the former ones, for this reason—that the rise in grain, which has been progressive since last January, until the very eve of the harvest, was attributed, not as it ought to have been, to the shortness of the crop and the unpropiti-

ousness of the spring and summer, but to some mysterious re-action in that wonderful country, England. It was in vain they were told over and over again, that there was really no re-action, but one which might be very easily accounted for on natural principles. But the pride of JOHN BULL would not listen to reason. He was sure that the recovery would be permanent; and it was only the other day, the *Courier* told him, "from the highest quarter," that wheat would be 73 shillings before November. It is, however, the opinion, in many quarters, though not, perhaps, "in the highest," that it will be little more than half that price. But the delusion had its object—its temporary object. It fastened the farmers to their leases—and "the Agricultural Interest" began to grow most lustily. That Solomon, Sir T. LETHERIDGE, who had turned Radical, as the markets went down, turned once more and became Anti-Jacobin, with all the vigour of former days. What will Sir THOMAS do now, or rather what will the agricultural people do—for only that he is their mouth-piece, it matters very little what he may do or say. He'll make a motion. *Pope* and what good will his motion do? It will make Mr. CANNING laugh, and make his friends grieve. And there is Mr. GOUCH—what will Mr. GOUCH do? Attend a Pitt Club, and talk about the Devil and the Pope, our Holy Altars and the envy of the world. But even this will have no effect upon the factors of Mark-lane. But Mr. WESTERN, with his string of resolutions about the currency—of which he was giving notice, for six months, and which, after all, went off at the heel of the last session "so lamely and unfashionably"—what will Mr. WESTERN do? Why he will give notice again. He will bring on his resolutions, and they will be negatived by a thundering majority. What then? We shall

have propositions for Reform—and Lord JOHN RUSSELL will make a spruce speech, and there an end.

Yet we apprehend there will be some serious talk about an EQUITABLE ADJUSTMENT, and we doubt not that Mr. BROUGHAM himself may come forward. But an *equitable adjustment*, as it is called, if seriously entertained, is no more nor no less than a RADICAL REFORM. For it is the extreme of imbecility to suppose, that the fundholders would listen to the proposition for a moment, if there were not, first a sweeping reduction in our civil and military establishments—a complete abolition of sinecures—and a very summary curtailment of the pension list. But, after all, what could *this* do? There would be a saving, perhaps, at the very utmost, of three millions; but three millions is nothing, when the interest of the debt is thirty. Before an adjustment could be heard of, the pruning knife must be employed upon the Church. But this is a thing that cannot be entertained for a moment. *Very well then*, all we want to know is, not how the farmers are to go on, for they are settled, but how the landlords are to go on. In England, we know many of them are deep in the Funds, and they may proceed swimmingly for a time. Their tenants may be continued, and *furn* for them, a process which, we understand, is very customary just now—but in Ireland, few of our Landlords have money in the Funds, or any where else. What are they to do without rents? Government can't provide for them all; in fact, Government can provide for very few; and if it be true what we have heard, that several offices, and some of them considerable ones, are not to be filled up on the demise of the incumbents—and if it be true, that even several of the present offices are to be dispensed with; why, in that case it is plain that the country gentlemen have nothing to look to from Govern-

ment except Lieutenancies of Police, Stipendiary Justices, or Barony Constables, offices which, we understand, are already in considerable demand, but which the men of Waterloo and Talavera are demanding also. Now, if the country gentlemen do not get rents, and rents, we are afraid, they will not get, what is to become of their creditors, or rather, what is to become of their estates?

The first thing that occurs to us, naturally is, to ask how it happens that the *Irish papers* talk thus, talk sense, talk justice; while the *Wen press* talks as it does; that is to say, talk of "*national faith*," while insisting that the jews and jobbers ought to get three for one! The reason is simply this, that the *Wen press* is essentially a *stock-jobbing concern*, as I have always asserted it to be. It is *owned* by jews and jobbers, for the greater part; and that part which is not owned by them is *hired to them*. This is not the case in Ireland, which is not, at any rate, under this degrading curse. There is some *horough-monger*, and *plunderer*, and *fire-pan* corruption, doubtless, in the Irish press; but it is not an infamous thing in the hands of the Christ-killing tribes; that band of criminals, some of whom become Solons and Oracles by "*watching the turn of the market*." This disgrace and scourge are for

England alone; and, never fear, they will swamp her.

I have just got a *Suffolk newspaper*, every inch of which is occupied by advertisements, and the far greater part of these relate to the sale of the *live and dead stock; and of the HOUSEHOLD GOODS of FARMERS.*

Here is *revolution*, if I want *revolution*! I have been reproached for years with wanting a *revolution*. The present King, in one of his Speeches to Parliament, said that there were *designing men*, who sought a *revolution*. Well! bless his Royal head! and, if there were such men, what was there of *new* in that! His gracious Majesty remembered, I dare say, that there had been a *revolution in England before*; and that those who sought it were not called *designing men*; but, on the contrary, most excellent and *loyal men*. They were pretty well *rewarded* for seeking a *revolution*, instead of being marked out for *vengeance*. However, if the "*designing men*," who "*seek a revolution*," be not satisfied with the one that is *going on in Suffolk*, they must be most unconscionable fellows. I am satisfied with it: this is a *revolution* that goes on *quite fast enough to suit me*. I do not wish it to go faster.

It is just the sort of thing to strip the *jollyheads* of their *all*. Just the thing to leave them neither *barn nor hole-and-corner* to abuse me in. Above all things I like to see the fellows in Suffolk **WORKED**. I do not mean the *farmers*, though some of them merit ruin; and the ruin of the *present race* is **NECESSARY**. I say *necessary*; because such fellows as met, the other day, at the Pitt Club, at Ipswich, *must* be punished. There would be an end of all idea of justice and of Providence, if those insolent and stupid oafs were to escape punishment. And, how are they to be punished as long as fools with money in their pockets be found to give it to these insolent fellows, in the shape of *rents*? I do not wish to see farmers ruined; but I wish to see the '*Squirarchy*' without rents. They will then have nothing to do but to attend to the *game* and the affairs of the *tread-mill*. Oh! God! Shall I not live to see them at work at this mill? Yes, verily, I shall! Wheat only a *little lower* than it is now, would send them to the tread-mill right quickly. They would have been there in a few months from this time, had not the *small-note* shuffle come to their assistance; and, even that can give them only a *respite from the mill*.

Talking of SMALL NOTES makes me think of the "CARDIFF BANK." Bank means "*a heap of Debts*;" and those who hold the rags of the *Cardiff Bank of Wood, Wood, and Co.* who have just *cracked*; those who hold the rags of that bank now know what the word *Bank* means, and they know, too, the *difference between rags and gold*. These people are properly punished. I wish that each individual of them may be reduced to *pinching want*. Each of them has done all that he could do to uphold this hellish system of gambling, stock-jobbing, and pressing the labourers down. May they all, therefore, suffer the extreme of poverty. They have, by holding the rags, done mischief wilfully to their neighbours: let them, Oh, God! have their reward! If all that I hear be true, there are *others*, and in *other parts of the kingdom*, who will have *their reward* too! Send us a *good sweep*! And a good sweep we shall have this next winter. Ah! you at once stupid and malignant creatures, who take the paper, pass the paper, and lock up the paper; do not expect *pity* from any man of sense and of virtue. You have your *rags*; keep them. You said they were *better than gold*; keep them! Keep the

Cardiff rags; and may you have neither food nor raiment, except what you can get in exchange for those rags!

I have recently seen a letter from Mr. NORTHMORE, in an Exeter paper, *reprobating* a letter sent to him *anonymously*, and calling the writer a *spy*. This "*spy-letter*" is published by Mr. NORTHMORE. Begging this gentleman's pardon, I think he did very wrongly to publish the letter of his correspondent; and I think it very strange in him to call the letter "*felonious*." Such works of *supererogation* do no good, he may be assured, except to those whom he professes to hate. I do not blame Mr. NORTHMORE for not acting upon the advice of his correspondent; because I blame no man for not doing what I do not do myself, I having the same means as he; but, I do blame him for publishing the letter, and for calling a man a "*spy*" merely because that man *presses him to go farther than he has yet gone*. Nothing can be more foolish, or more hypocritical, than to talk of a *reform of parliament* as long as the *paper-system* lasts. I do not agree with Mr. PUFF (that is the name that I give to Mr. Northmore's Correspondent), that the system

will defy all other causes of destruction; for, I am convinced, that the revolution, that is now (as we have just seen) going on in Suffolk, is only a sample of what is going on all over the kingdom.

The small rag Bill has only obtained a respite for the THING, that "accursed thing," which must be expelled from the camp, or we perish. This revolution will annihilate the THING; and, let us be comforted, in the meanwhile, by seeing the insolent jolterheads fall, one after the other, into the pit, which they dug for us. Let us be comforted by seeing what the French are about. They are just now subduing our pretty gentlemen's allies, and walking over those lines which it cost our pretty fellows millions upon millions to make and repair. Never mind "the Bourbons," friend Puff.

Be you assured, that every shot which tells against Cadiz, is a shot at Gatton and Old Sarum. Our pretty fellows thought that the French would defeat themselves in Spain. They thought, that Spain would serve to divert them from us; that it would weaken them; give them enough to do. They were deceived; and, do what they will, the French will push on at us, or we must go to war.

Go to war we cannot, without a

blowing up of the Debt; and then, BANG! CRASH! Do you not think you hear the noise, friend Puff? Have a little patience, therefore, if you can; but, if you cannot, I shall not, with Mr. NORTHMORE, call you spy and felon. I may decline going so fast as you think I ought to go; but, I have no right to reply to your pressing by calling you spy and felon.

STATE OF THE HARVEST.

To the Editor of the Register.

Bollitree Castle, Herefordshire,
25th Sept. 1823.

SIR,
SINCE I wrote my last letter, I have seen more of this country; but, as to crops of wheat, barley, and oats, I do not know that I can give you any further information, except that, during the short time that I have been here, the little that remained to be harvested has been got in. Beans, about here, (I speak particularly of the neighbourhood of Ross and Hereford) though not a good crop, are not a bad one. That is, the crop is not nearly so bad as had been anticipated. In many places I see them at bean-cart, and few, very few remain to be cut.—At a few miles beyond Ross, and on the adjoining farms of Mr. WALTER

PAIRMER and Sir HUNGERFORD HOSKINS, I saw some fields of Swedish turnips. Precisely the time when either of these gentlemen had put in their crops I do not know; but Sir Hungerford's seemed most forward. Mr. PAIRMER's have had two ploughings, *real ploughings*, the last of which, owing to the ridges being less than four feet asunder, has buried a great portion of the large and lower leaves, so that it will be impossible to give them a *third ploughing*. These turnips are not so large in the bulb as those I mentioned in my last letter; but they certainly look more "*kind*," as the farmers are pleased to term any thing that is in a thriving state. What I most admire in Mr. WALTER PAIRMER's turnips, is the singular evenness of them. There is not, as far as I saw, a yard of ground in any one ridge in which there is not the proper number of plants placed at the proper distance from each other. The neighbouring field (Sir HUNGERFORD's), on the contrary, presents to your view rather a sad variety; for you see here a large field of generally stunted turnips; you frequently meet with a space of ~~some~~ *some* feet where they have misgled altogether, and, though a very little trouble and expense

bestowed in the filling up of these spaces, by means of transplanting, would have remedied the evil, I do not see that it has been attempted. The general poverty-stricken look of this field of turnips may be, in great measure, accounted for by the miserable ploughing it has had. In poking a walking-stick down through the earth that had but just been ploughed, you find that the plough has gone no deeper than about four inches; whereas Mr. PAIRMER's plough went down nearer to a foot in depth. But, notwithstanding bad culture, crops will come here, and accordingly I saw in this bad field, some of the largest turnips I have seen at all. Some weighing six or seven pounds at least. This was in a corner of about three acres; but, in this corner they had missed in many places, and had been so badly hoed out, that two and three are constantly to be met with smothering each other as to bulb, and poking up into long stalky leaves. Before I go out of this country, I should say something of the face of it, and of the towns of Ross and Hereford. The land is all of the finest, bearing great crops of corn and fine straight lofty timber of the best kinds, which is disposed, frequently, in the sweet

scientific manner. Oak coppices appear to be most encouraged; and no wonder, when at twelve years' growth, in some places, they can sell them as high as 400 pounds! Eighty pounds per acre have been given for oak coppices in the neighbourhood of Bosc, &c. I judge of fifteen years' growth. The timber is, of course small, but it serves the wheelwrights, and the rest is burned into charcoal for the iron-works of Wales. They begin stripping the bark off the trees while standing, and do not cut them till the fall of the year. The towns above mentioned are to themselves so little beautiful that both may be described together without prejudice to either; both have the beautiful river Wye twisting about under them, its banks consisting of an even mixture of most beautiful pasture, and most romantic woodland. From the bridge at Hereford you derive a pretty view up the river; but not an extensive one; from the church-yard at Bosc, which stands considerably higher than the town itself, you have a very extensive view of the country, and a much finer view of the river than you could get at Hereford. It forms a bow-draw of about an mile, and then sweeps off again to the right and to the left. In

the church-yard are about twenty of the largest Elms I ever saw. I may have seen an Elm tree as large, but I never before saw twenty standing in a row so large. I measured, with a stick that I thought was about a foot and a half long, the largest of them, at four feet from the ground, it took eight times my stick to go round it; and it would require a stick six to say which of these trees is the largest. The Oak and the Elm are the timber of the country: the fields are mostly lined with Elms and the coppices are all Oak.

High Wycombe, 27th Sept. 1832.

Leaving the county of Hereford yesterday, I went back upon my old road as far as Crumpton, and then, instead of going on by way of Queney, I crossed the country, through Tawnsbury to Worcester. The day was very rainy and misty; however, at intervals it was clear enough for me to see for some distance on each side of the road. The Malvern Hills on the left were discernible when we got to Tawnsbury, and as we got to Worcester we could not see town or village of Malvern, situated apparently at the foot of the highest part of this high ridge of hills. The country intervening

all grass. Large and rich pastures thinly intermixed with small corn-fields. All the corn in, and, as they are great and careful cattle feeders, they mow a great part of their stubbles for bedding. I see them all along here carting stubble. TEWKESBURY seems a nice old town, but I did not stop in it. The Severn runs near to it, as I see on the finger-post, "*To the Ferry*," so far. Within nine miles of WORCESTER there are many fields of Swedish turnips (broadcast), but they look excessively brown. All the lower leaves seem scorched, and the upper ones mildewed. They look much browner than any that I saw in HEREFORDSHIRE, where they were only *partially* discoloured. Some cabbages here of a large sort promise a great bulk of cattle food; and near to this food I saw some fine specimens of a most deserving sort of cattle, some most beautiful sheep. They have in these counties a sort of sheep that I never before saw. It is a very old and favourite sort, however, in Herefordshire, and, I believe, in the adjoining counties: I mean the *Ryland* sheep. A pretty, short-legged, fine-woolled, harmless sheep; making fine mutton and lamb, and being as much esteem-

ed by the clothier as by the butcher. But, under the idea of making this animal still more perfect, by giving it a somewhat larger carcass and a greater propensity to fatten, many breeders of the present day are crossing the Ryland with the new Leicester sheep. The object is to obtain in *one* the good qualities of both these famous sorts of sheep, and the sheep I allude to above were the produce of such cross. They certainly are very handsome, but in some instances you can plainly discover a sacrifice of *wool* to fat, size and shape. I saw some beautiful lambs near Ross, weighing 12*lb.* the quarter, for a score of which the owner could not have obtained more than *eighteen pounds*. Five fat ewes of 13*lb.* the quarter were not deemed worth *thirty shillings*. Wheat was about 4*6s.* the quarter. — From WORCESTER I came through PERSHORE, EVESHAM and BROADWAY, three very pretty places, but particularly the latter, which is a small but pretty old town. The houses very old, and built of a handsome grey stone. This town is at the foot of a very steep and high hill: I think more than half a mile high. There is a great deal of garden ground round WORCESTER. For a distance of

ten miles from the town we met market gardeners' carts in great numbers making their way to the market. It was a cold and very clear morning, so that, when we got upon the top of Broadway Hill and looked back, the view was magnificent. You had almost a *bird's eye* view of the little town beneath, and, beyond it, a view proportionate to the goodness of your eyes; for it was boundless. The country, as far as BROADWAY (which is about twenty miles from WORCESTER), is as pretty as any I have seen, save that it has not the constant hill and dale of Herefordshire. The woods are, nevertheless, very pretty; and elm trees are suffered to grow without being subject to the horrible practice of shaving off all the limbs. Turning from this view to sit down and look straight before you again, you see plainly that you are, if not in OXFORDSHIRE, very near to it. I believe the top of the hill is in OXFORDSHIRE and the bottom in WORCESTERSHIRE. At any rate, you now begin with the *stone walls again*, and with the dreary, though rich, corn country. I saw one field of wheat somewhere up in this country with one man reaping in it; and he, poor fellow, looked hungry enough to eat it too. You see not a cottage,

not a house of any description here, till you come to the *district* town, where three or four hungry looking greyhounds, and men not unlike them, are standing about at the Inn-doors.—Near, however, to one of these towns (Chipping-Norton), I counted eight *old wheat ricks* in one rick yard! A great deal of wheat is sown and up here, and I see nothing out but bears.—Coming through WOOSTOCK to OXFORD, I have come thus far (High Wycombe) over the same ground that I travelled in coming from LONDON, and all the corn that was uncarted as I was going down, is now in; and where before I saw them carrying corn, I now hear them threshing it.—As to the apple crop, I have no reason for unsaying any thing I said in my former letter upon this subject; but I am confirmed in all I said upon it. Here and there, you see a tree loaded even to its own destruction; but a great, very great many trees, have scarcely an apple on them, and none of the apples have arrived at their usual and proper size and quality.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

JOHN M. COBBETT.

THE SCOTCH HARVEST,

I HAVE just heard, is *short*; and the wheat not *half cut*.—This may make some little difference in the *price in general*; but, not much. Scotland consumes so small a part of the produce of the whole kingdom, that its wants may be supplied without any great deduction from the general quantity.

MESSRS. CANNING AND WAITHMAN.

At a Sheriff's Dinner in the City, these two heroes were on the boards. The silliness and impudence that Mr. Canning showed upon this occasion could be equalled only by his *meanness*; but this now seems, with him and some of his colleagues, to be the "order of the day." In my next, I shall endeavour to do something like justice to the *braggings*, the *shameless braggings* of the present Lord Mayor and Mr. Canning.

MARKETS.

Average Prices of CORN throughout ENGLAND, for the week ending 20th. September.

Per Quarter.

	s.	d.
Wheat	51	9
Rye	32	5
Barley	30	0
Oats	22	0
Beans	35	9
Peas	35	1

Corn Exchange, Mark Lane.

Quantities and Prices of British Corn, &c. sold and delivered in this Market, during the week ended Saturday, 20th September.

	Qrs.	£.	s.	d.	Average,
Wheat...	4,400	12,584	18	6	51 7
Barley...	293	442	1	7	31 4
Oats...	8,051	9,772	8	4	24 8
Rye.....	1	1	10	0	30 9
Beans...	1,149	1,998	0	7	34 7
Peas....	647	1,158	14	8	35 7

Quarters of English Grain, &c. arrived Coastwise, from Sept. 22 to Sept. 27, inclusive.

Wheat ...	7,500	Peas ...	2,108
Barley... 2,958		Tares....	275
Malt ... 2,729		Linseed...	—
Oats... 15,405		Rape....	947
Rye..... 17		Brank.....	—
Beans.... 1,274		Mustard....	309
Various Seeds 886 qrs.		Flour	7,168 sacks.

From Ireland—Oats 6,500 qrs.

Foreign—Lined 3,845 qrs. — Flour 845 barrels.

Friday, Sept. 26.—The arrivals of grain in general this week are tolerably good, and of Oats the quantity is large. Prime dry samples of Wheat find a more ready sale, but there is no improvement in the prices. Barley is rather cheaper. Grey Peas are further declined 2s. per quarter. Oats find scarcely any buyers, and this article is rather cheaper.

Monday, Sept. 29.—There was a tolerably good supply of grain in general last week, and of Oats the quantities were large. This morning there are moderate quantities of Wheat and Beans from Essex, Kent, and Suffolk, but large fresh arrivals of Barley, Grey Peas, and Oats. The new parcels of Wheat come for the most part cold in hand, that our millers purchased dry samples of both old and new more freely, and an advance was obtained on such of 1s. to 2s. per qr., but the damp quantities sell very badly.

Barley is abundant, and 2s. per quarter cheaper. Grey Peas are also very plentiful, and have suffered a further decline of 2s. to 3s. per quarter. Beans sell heavily, and are rather cheaper. There are so few boiling Peas that will break well, that this article obtains rather higher prices; but White Peas that will not break are cheaper. Oats are far too plentiful for the present demand, and although the factors are not disposed to submit to less prices for old samples, yet new are reduced full 1s. per quarter.

COUNTRY CORN MARKETS.

By the QUARTER, excepting where otherwise named; from Wednesday to Saturday last, inclusive.

The Scotch Markets are the Returns of the Week before.

WHEAT.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Uxbridge, per load	81.	10s.	151.	10s.
Aylesbury.. ditto	91.	5s.	131.	10s.
Newbury	40	0	—	60 0
Reading	34	0	—	54 0
Henley	40	0	—	52 0
Banbury	40	0	—	56 0
Devizes	41	0	—	64 0
Warminster	40	0	—	64 0
Sherborne	0	0	—	0 0
Dorchester, per load	121.	0s.	151.	0s.
Exeter, per bushel	6	6	—	7 6
Lewes	44	0	—	56 0
Guildford, per load	107.	0s.	161.	5s.
Winchester, ditto	07.	0s.	01.	0s.
Basingstoke	40	0	—	54 0
Chelmsford, per load	91.	0s.	131.	10s.
Yarmouth	0	0	—	0 0
Birmingham	40	0	—	53 0
Lynn	0	0	—	0 0
Horncastle	36	0	—	45 0
Stamford	28	0	—	48 0
Northampton	36	0	—	42 0
Truro, 24 galls. to a bush.	18	10	—	0 0
Swansea, per bushel	8	9	—	0 0
Nottingham	46	0	—	0 0
Derby, 34 quarts to bush.	40	0	—	55 0
Newcastle	32	0	—	56 0
Dalkeith, per boll *	27	0	—	34 6
Haddington, ditto *	25	0	—	35 0

* The Scotch boll is 3 per cent more than 4 bushels.

Price of Bread.—The price of the 4lb. Loaf is stated at 9d. by the full-priced Bakers.

SMITHFIELD, Monday, Sept. 29th.

Per Stone of 8 pounds (alive).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	3	0	to	3 6
Mutton	3	4	—	3 10
Veal	4	0	—	5 0
Pork	4	0	—	5 0
Lamb	3	8	—	4 4

Beasts ...	3,488	Sheep ...	26,160
Calves ...	220	Pigs	310

NEWGATE (same day).

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	2	0	to	3 0
Mutton	2	8	—	3 6
Veal	3	0	—	4 4
Pork	3	4	—	5 4
Lamb	0	0	—	0 0

LEADENHALL (same day).

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	2	0	to	3 4
Mutton	2	8	—	3 6
Veal	3	4	—	5 4
Pork	3	4	—	5 4
Lamb	3	8	—	4 6

City, 1 October 1833.

BACON.

There is not much demand for this article; but as it is known that great numbers are ready to buy, if it go a little lower, that will probably prevent any material decline: we mean in regard to the new; as to the old that must go lower yet.—On board, for immediate shipments, 37s.; for forward shipments, 32s. to 33s.—Landed, Old, 36s. to 40s.; New, 42s. to 43s.

BUTTER.

The present stock of Butter would leave a loss to the holders, if sold at the present prices; they are therefore induced to look to the old remedy—a speculation. There is a very general disposition to buy Butter, and we should not be surprised if a considerable advance should take place.—On board, Carlow, 80s.—Waterford, 74s. to 75s.—Dublin, 75s.—Cork, 73s.—Limerick, 72s.—Landed: Carlow, 80s. to 82s.—Waterford, 75s. to 77s.—Dublin, 76s.—Cork, or Limerick, 75s.—Dutch, 88s. to 90s.—Holstein, 70s. to 80s. the quality being various.

CHEESE.

The demand for Cheese is improving—Old Cheshire, of the best

quality, 70s. to 78s.; inferior, 60s. to 70s.—Coloured Derby, (old) 72s. to 74s.; New, 58s. to 63s.—Double Gloucester, 56s. to 62s.; Single, 48s. to 60s.

POTATOES.

SPITALFIELDS.—per Ton.
 Ware 2 0 to 3 10
 Middlings..... 1 6 — 2 0
 Chats..... 1 6 — 0 0
 Common Red. 2 0 — 2 6.
 Onions. 1s. 6d.—2s. 0d. per bush.

BOROUGH.—per Ton.
 Ware..... 2 0 to 3 0
 Middlings..... 1 10 — 1 15
 Chats..... 1 10 — 0 0
 Common Red. 0 0 — 0 0
 Onions. 0s. 0d.—0s. 0d. per bush.

HAY and STRAW, per Load.

Smithfield.—Hay.... 80s. to 100s.
 Straw... 40s. to 46s.
 Clover 100s. to 110s.

St. James's.—Hay.... 70s. to 120s.
 Straw... 31s. to 51s.
 Clover. 95s. to 126s.

Whitechapel.—Hay.... 80s. to 115s.
 Straw... 40s. to 44s.
 Clover. 90s. to 130s.

Price of HOPS, per Cwt. in the BOROUGH.

Monday, Sept. 29.—The picking is now general, and in many districts will be finished this week; the accounts all state the produce as overrated. Some growth of Canterbury have been sold from 15l. 15s. to 17l. 17s. Duty 20,000l. to 22,000l. Currency of Yearlings and old remain the same.

Maidstone, Sept. 25.—Our Hop picking will generally finish this week, as the grounds are cleared so much sooner than expected; every body appears to have overrated their growth, which falls very short of what they were laid at. We have not heard of any sales yet. The Duty called about 20,000l.

COAL MARKET, Sept. 26.

Ships at Market. Ships sold. Price.
 28½ Newcastle.. 17½.. 37s. 6d. to 44s. 6d.
 6½ Sunderland.. 6½.. 33s. 6d.—46s. 0d.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY REGISTER.

VOL. 48.—No. 2.] LONDON, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 11, 1823. [Price 6d.]

Published every Saturday Morning, at Seven o' Clock.

TO

MR. OGDEN,

OF MANCHESTER,

*On the Speeches of Mr. Canning,
of the Lord Mayor, and of Mr.
Waithman, at the Sheriff's
Dinner, in the City of London,
on the 29th of September.*

Kensington, October 8, 1823.

MR. OGDEN,

On the 29th of last month, there was a *City Feast*, at which were present, Mr. WAITHMAN, Mr. CANNING, and Mr. HUSKISSON. Some curious things took place at this dinner; and I, in remarking on them, address myself to you, because it was on you that the once-insolent jester, Canning, sported the most insolent of all his jests. To those who do not already know it, be it known,

and be it long remembered by all, that, when a statement was made, in the House of Commons, that you had received *an irreparable bodily hurt* from being dragged about in chains under the powers of SIDMOUTH'S *Power-of-Imprisonment Bill*, Canning called you "*the revered and ruptured Ogden*;" and, be it remembered, that, thereupon, the House broke out into *an universal and a loud laugh*. Let us bear this in mind when we read of the fall of the *landlords*. When we see the Jews grasping their estates, let us bear this scene in mind; and it is now a time to recal to our memory all the circumstances, because we are now going to witness the humiliation of our jesting foe.

I shall, before I go any further, insert the Report of the proceedings upon this occasion. They

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are not more *stilly* than the city proceedings usually are; but they are more curious; and, in them, ~~we have our enemy enemy on the hip.~~ We have him fairly convicted on his own uncalled-for confession. The account ought to be *read attentively*; because without that, any remarks that I may offer on it can be but imperfectly understood. I have marked some particular passages by *Italic characters*.

"Yesterday the Sheriff Elect, G. B. Whittaker, Esq. and P. Lawrie, Esq. gave their Inauguration Dinner at the Hall of the Stationers' Company, to which the Senior Sheriff belongs. The dinner was of the most sumptuous description. Among the distinguished personages present were Lord Erskine, the Right Honourable G. Canning, the Right Honourable W. Huskisson, the Honourable W. Lamb, M.P., Mr. Planta, Professor Schlegel, &c. &c. The Lord Mayor presided, and was supported on his right by Mr. Alderman Waithman, the Lord Mayor Elect, and Lord Erskine; and on the left by Mr. Canning and Mr. Huskisson.

After the usual loyal and patriotic toasts had been given,

The CHAIRMAN proposed the health of the Lord Mayor Elect, and congratulated his fellow-citizens on the absence of all party feelings which had marked his election, and which afforded the best security for the due administration of the duties of his important office.

Mr. Alderman WAITHMAN returned thanks. He was sensible of the importance of the office to which he had been elected, and in fulfilling its duties he should endeavour to redeem the pledge which he had given at his election. While, on the one hand, he was determined to give every facility to free discussion, which he considered the best and most invaluable privilege of a free country; he would suffer no political opinions of his own to interfere with the discharge of his public duties. [Applause].

The CHAIRMAN next gave the "health of the eloquent and consistent advocate of the liberties of his country, Lord Erskine."

Lord ERSKINE, in returning thanks, declared there were no recollections from which he derived greater satisfaction than those connected with the period in which he was more frequently in the habit of meeting the citizens of London. He considered the privileges and immunities of the City of London to be intimately interwoven with the best interests of the country. [Applause].

The CHAIRMAN rose to propose the health of a Right Honourable Friend on his left, who was not more distinguished for his eloquence than for his political integrity, and whose public conduct had received the approbation, not only of his colleagues, but of a great majority of the people of this country [applause]. His Right Honourable Friend had just returned from visiting the northern parts of the kingdom, and he had found there at every step fresh proofs of the growth of the prosperity, as well as of the population of the empire.—Every thing which he had seen in that part of the country furnished a complete refutation of the opinion entertained by our enemies, that we should be unable to cope with them when a period of peace returned.—Every part of the country was at this moment in a flourishing condition; and

more more so than these connected with our trade and manufactures. He might say with truth, that the same prosperity prevailed among the citizens of London, among whom he was sure his Right Honourable Friend would find that loyalty to the Sovereign, his master, and that zealous attachment to the great principles of the Constitution, to which the country, and even the Sovereign himself, were indebted for the pre-eminence which they maintained above all nations. He concluded by proposing the health of "The Right Honourable George Canning," which was drank with great applause.

Mr. CANNING, in returning thanks, said, it was impossible for him adequately to express the satisfaction which he derived from this testimony of their approbation, which might be considered as embodying the sentiments of the City of London. The approbation of the Sovereign and the respect of Parliament were great consolations, and essential incentives to the exertions of a Minister; but even these tributes of approbation were inadequate unless backed by the applause of his fellow citizens. It has been truly said by his respectable friend the Lord Mayor, that, difficult as the crisis was at which his (Mr. Canning's) Sovereign had done him the honour to call him to his councils, he had yet had the good fortune to witness the growing prosperity of the country. He had, indeed, witnessed, in those parts of the country which he had lately visited, an universal testimony to the existence of a degree of prosperity which was almost unexampled, and which, he was persuaded, now rested upon a solid foundation. That the causes of the difficulties under which the country lately laboured were in a great degree of a transitory nature, was proved by the fact of our increasing prosperity, and of those difficulties having ceased with the op-

eration of the causes which produced them. Great, however, as was the prosperity of the country, God forbid that any degree of prosperity or tranquillity should suppress that fair discussion which the Lord Mayor had truly declared to be essential in a free country, or restrain the expression of public opinion. If our Constitution rested upon a balance of powers, the maintenance of it rested upon a free conflict of opinions, which, however they might be opposed to each other in certain points, were directed for the most part to the maintenance of that Constitution under which this country had reached so pre-eminent a station among the nations of the world. In almost every other country at this moment, extreme principles were at war. It behoved us, who had attained that high station which was the result of such a conflict, to abstain from unnecessarily aggravating the calamities of such a struggle, by unnecessarily mixing ourselves in it; and if for a long series of years prosperity and war had been coupled in this country by an unnatural union, let us repose in the more natural and permanent association of prosperity and peace. To the worthy Magistrate who was about to enter upon his arduous office as successor to his Honourable Friend, he could not wish a more auspicious reign than that of his predecessor. He believed that the tranquillity of the country, during that time, had been such as no preceding period could surpass; he was sure that the prosperity of the country had been such as not half a century could rival. He trusted the worthy Magistrate who was about to succeed his Hon. Friend would enjoy the same good fortune, follow the same excellent example, and retire from his office with the warm approbation, as he had entered upon it with the cordial suffrages of his fellow citizens [applause]. The Right Hon. Gentleman concluded by proposing the "health of the present Lord

Mayor, and prosperity to the City of London."

The CHAIRMAN returned thanks.

The CHAIRMAN next proposed the health of a Right Honourable Gentleman who had in a particular manner devoted his attention to subjects connected with the trade and manufactures of the country—"The Right Hon. W. Huskisson."

Mr. HUSKISSON returned his sincere thanks for the unexpected honour which had been conferred upon him. As President of the Board of Trade, it was impossible for him not to feel grateful for such a testimony of approbation, coming from a body of men representing so much of the intelligence and commercial respectability of that great city. After so gratifying a mark of their esteem, he must necessarily feel anxious to render the labours of the Board over which he presided, still more subservient to the commercial interests of the City of London—interests which he felt to be most deeply and intimately connected with the prosperity of the whole empire.—During the war, when a great part of Europe was overrun by the tyranny of one man, it was by the spirit and intelligence of British merchants that we were mainly enabled to overcome all obstacles. In a period of peace, he had considered it consistent with sound policy to give full scope to that commerce to which we were so much indebted for a successful issue of the contest in which we were then engaged. It should never be forgotten, that it was our commerce which had raised this country to that proud pre-eminence which we now enjoyed, and which he doubted not we should continue to enjoy above all the nations of the world. [Applause]."

Taking these heroes in due order, we, of course, begin with

SIGNOR WAITHMAN, the famous

"city cock." The hero is "de-

termined to give every facility

"to free discussion." Why this

declaration? It seems to have

been called for by nothing. No-

body had been saying any thing

about *free discussion*. But, mark,

he will "suffer no *political opi-*

nions of his own to interfere

"with the discharge of his public

"duties." And, why this decla-

ration? Wholly uncalled for too!

The short and long of the matter

is, he means to *change* his "*poli-*

tical opinions." The boast about

prosperity and about the *growing*

population and *revenue*; all this

makes him think, that the THING

is *immortal*, and that it is best to

join the THING to do it *by de-*

grees; but to do it, and to do it

effectually too. See how different

the conduct of the partisans of the

THING, the enemies of reform.

They never say (when they get

uppermost), that *their own politics*

shall not *interfere*. On the con-

trary, they, the moment they get

hold of power, begin to express

their "*firm determination*," to give every facility, not, like Mr. WAITHMAN to "*free discussion*;" but to every thing tending to favour their own principles and their own party. They never talk of not suffering their own politics to prevail; but, on the contrary, they talk of their newly-acquired power as the effect of the success of their principles, and as the means, also, of maintaining those principles. When they get into power, they congratulate their hearers and their friends on the triumph which what they call *loyalty* has had in their persons; but, mark our *modest* reformer: he will make no use of his office to favour the propagation of his own opinions. He will be perfectly *impartial*. He will be as much the friend of the haters of reform as of the friends of reform. So that, if all the reformers were like the reformer Waithman, the cause of reform would be in a comfortable way indeed. Openly attacked; openly and boldly attacked; and incessantly attacked

in all manner of ways by its enemies, when they have the power in their hands; and when its friends have the power in their hands, the power is to guard a strict neutrality; and Mr. WAITHMAN, the great city reformer, is, during the three hundred and sixty-five days of his *nobility*, to throw his *mace* over the cause of reform, in exactly the same way, with exactly the same sort of preface, and with exactly the same sort of effect, as Mr. CANNING "threw his *shield* over the Peninsula." And, I dare say, he will carry his imitation of his eulogist's right honourable "*friend*" one step further; that is to say, to the tending of us his "*prayers*" for the success of the cause of reform. His pot companion; one of his brother boozers and guttlers upon this occasion would not give the Spaniards a penny or a pound of powder; but, the *prayers* of him who made a jest of Ogden's rapture was at the service of the Spaniards. Signor WAITHMAN, whom the jester now calls the

worthy Magistrate, and whom, by implication he condescends to flatter, halting along in humble imitation, can promise to do nothing for the cause of reform; will not suffer even his own political opinions to be active, and to derive benefit from the power that he is going to possess. But, I have not the smallest doubt that he would, if he were hard pressed, give the cause the benefit of his *prayers*.

The truth is, I believe, that Mr. WAITEMAN has not found his political opinions to answer those purposes, which he expected them to answer. But, besides this, there is the ungovernable vanity of the man. Such men are seldom, nay, they are never proof against even the common-place flattery of the great, or of those that they have been accustomed to consider as their superiors. Their *patriotism*, as it is called, is never proof against even a little condescension on the part of those whom they look upon as being able and likely to gratify their desires. They are very stout and bluster-

ing, while they see no chance of the adversary's giving away; but, the moment he softens, they begin to soften too: they begin, in fact, to see the prize in view, or, at least, they imagine it, and they are ready to run into the arms of the condescending party. I have always observed this characteristic in Mr. WAITEMAN; and I cannot refrain from quoting here a passage from the Register, No. 10, Vol. 34, dated in Long Island, 5th September, 1818. I had just heard of the result of the General Election of that year, which had put Mr. WAITEMAN, Sir ROBERT WILSON and some other "distinguished patriots," into Parliament. After some other remarks upon the subject, I proceeded to observe, in the following words, upon the danger to be apprehended from the *vanity* of such men:—
 "They have vanity, conceit; they would be thought profound.
 "They will be tickled with '*honourable gentlemen*' and '*honourable friends*.' They will have
 "their heads turned, if they be

"complimented a little, and will
 "begin to think, *that what pro-*
 "*duces such sweet sounds cannot*
 "*be so very corrupt and hateful.*
 "A New Jersey Girl, who, in
 "1796, went with others on board
 "a British frigate, in the Dela-
 "ware, to sell her eggs and butter,
 "and who had, all her life-time,
 "heard her father and grandfather
 "say that the British were most
 "cruel and plundering fellows,
 "came upon deck, after having
 "been entertained by the hand-
 "some young captain below, and
 "exclaimed to her companion,
 "'Why, Sak, I vow that *these*
 "*British be n't so much amiss!*"
 "I hope Mr. Waithman's opinions
 "and political integrity will not
 "experience a trial equally severe!
 "Flattery, when levelled against
 "a head stuffed with conceit, is a
 "most deadly weapon; and espe-
 "cially when the flattery comes
 "from those, whom the person sat-
 "tered does, from the habits of his
 "life, regard as something more
 "than common men. God forbid,
 "my dear Sir, that I should think

"Mr. Waithman corrupt; but if a
 "gold-laced coat, a glass of wine,
 "a squeeze of the hand, and a
 "lying 'my dear,' could, in a
 "twinkling, root out all the pre-
 "cepts inculcated and all the
 "prejudices implanted by a father
 "and a grandfather, may we not
 "fear, that the candour and civility
 "of 'the Noble Lord' and 'the
 "Right Honourable Gentleman'
 "will a little dilocate the per-
 "tions and shake the purposes
 "of a moderate reformer?"

How prophetic was the latter
 part of this passage? The can-
 dour, the civility, of the *Right*
Honourable Gentleman! One
 would think, that like the *Shy-*
lars, I was blessed with a second
 sight; during the time I was in
 Long Island. Literally it is true
 that I could see better those than
 I could in England. Several years
 before I went to America, I used
 spectacles, and never attempted
 to read without them. While in
 that island, I sometimes read,
 and very often wrote without
 them. I brought home with me,

and I use yet, the same pair that I took out; but I cannot lay them aside in the way that I did under that clear sun. The fact is, that both sun and moon give greater light there than they do here. Whether it was owing to this circumstance or not, the reader may judge; but, if I had actually seen, before I went to Long Island, the scene described in the above Report, could I have hit off the character of Mr. WAITHMAN with more exactness than I did it in Long Island? The very sight of Mr. CANNING and his Right Honourable colleague, seems to have blunted the spurs of our "city cock." Mr. CANNING graciously condescended (the time of that gentleman is to come!) to place himself on the left hand, of his "*respectable friend*" Mr. HEYGATE, the country bank-paper issuer. The great Mr. CANNING condescended to put himself on the left of the Lord Mayor, while the great Mr. WAITHMAN was seated on his right. This alone neutralized the political opinions of

our "city cock." Who called upon him to say any thing about his political opinions? Did any body say or any body think that he was rascal enough to suffer *political opinions* to induce him to acquit or condemn unjustly and in the teeth of law? Would he come out unasked for and ostentatiously declare himself not to be such a rascal as that? Oh! no: nobody thought him such a villain; and he knew that nobody thought him such a villain. Why, therefore, all this parade of promise; why all this pledging not to be a villain in the execution of his office? It is surprising that he could not see, that he was degrading himself to the dirt by the making of these uncalled for professions, which amounted to nothing short of this: "As I have a soul to be saved, I will be an honest man while I am Lord Mayor." His own declaration, stated in this plain way, would have frightened him; and he could not have failed to perceive the glaring impropriety of the thing, if it had not

been for his over anxiety to utter a something that should be interpreted to mean, that those old *political opinions* of his were now no longer to sever him from his noble and right honourable friends. No more of him shall I say at present, except this; that I will keep my eye upon him; and that I will not permit to pass unnoticed what I am persuaded will be, if this **THING** last any considerable length of time, the consequence of this "*strict neutrality*" of political opinions.

The next hero is Lord **ERSKINE**, whom Mr. **CANNING**, in the Anti-Jacobin newspaper, christened Counsellor *Ego*; that is to say, Counsellor great I by itself I. In giving the health of Lord Erskine, Trial by Jury was omitted this time. He was here called the "*consistent advocate* of the liberties of his "country." Trial by Jury was, to be sure, grown a little stale; but it might have passed with full as much propriety as this new appendage. Lord **ERSKINE** has been the consistent and successful

advocate of the interests of himself and his family. He was only fifteen months in the public service. For those fifteen months' service, he has already received seventeen times *four thousand pounds*; while his son, who became an ambassador about the time that the father became a Lord Chancellor, has been receiving a pension, or a large salary, from that day to this. So that the "*consistent advocate*" has been doing pretty well all this time.

"*Caw me caw thee*," as Lord **BYRON** describes the tickling and the complimenting which passed between the King and the Scotch. Accordingly, the Lord Mayor having cawed the "*consistent advocate*," the consistent advocate thought it but right that he should caw *the city*. He thought it but right that he should caw somebody; and, eloquent as he is, and full of invention, he seems to have thought it impossible to caw the Lord Mayor; and so he fell to cawing the city. He considered,

he said, the privileges and immunities of the City of London to be "*intimately interwoven with the best interests of the country.*" It is not surprising that I should think just the contrary. Those privileges and immunities have almost all been perverted to bad purposes. The immense revenues possessed by the Corporation of London, the enormous taxes they levy, the oppressions which they exercise, ought all to cease. They possess not an inch of land nor a single house that ought not to be given up to the public, or to be managed in a manner very different from that in which they are now managed. Not inaptly did that cockney, who visited Paris sometime ago, and who was a Common Councilman; not inaptly did he write himself down, "Member of the City of London Parliament;" for the Common Council is as like to other thing as if it had been spit out of its mouth. It wants reforming indeed; and that Lord ERSKINE knows as well as any man in England. I

should suppose that the dinners, that the city feasts, cost from fifty to a hundred thousand pounds a year. A reformed Parliament would inquire where this money came from; and would inquire, also, why so large a sum of money is to be given to a Lord Mayor. A reformed Parliament would inquire, why the allowances to the Lord Mayor is not to be lessened, at a time when the wages of the labourer are reduced one half in amount. The reign of Mr. WARTMAN being about to begin, let us hope that he will institute some inquiry into these matters; for, if he do not, it will puzzle any man to say why Mr. HEYGATE or CURTIS is not just as good as he.

We now come to Mr. CANNING; and we shall have to remark upon his speech at some length, by-and-by. But, does it not strike the reader as something curious, that this gentleman should have been found at a city feast, and surrounded by such a group, too? There can be no doubt of his having been apprized that WALTER

MAN was to be there, and that such and such toasts were to be given. There can be no doubt, in fact, of the whole thing having been contrived. The Dinner was given by the *Sheriffs*: one of them a *bookseller*, and the other a *sadler*: both of them persons of profound obscurity: no more known to Mr. CANNING nor to the public than any two venders of oysters and apples. Very worthy men for any thing that I know to the contrary; but men completely unknown. What, then, could bring Mr. CANNING and Mr. HUSKISSON to this city feast? Their colleagues must have declined the invitation; for, most assuredly, they were invited. It was, then, manifestly for the purpose of *awing* and of being *cawed* that these two Ministers attended at this dinner. Nobody but Lord ENSKANE besides, for as to *William Lamb*, and that famous Mr. *Planta*, who issued the passport to *Smoking*, as to these, though supported by "*Professor Schleyel*," nobody, I imagine, would risk a horse to death to get

in time to dine in their company. Thus, then, we must, I think, conclude, that these two Right Honourable Privy Councillors were in search of something beyond the mere pleasure and honour afforded by the dinner and the company.

And now, Mr. OGDEN, if you be not of a much more forgiving disposition than I am, pray look at the jester, he that set the House in a *roar of laughter* by the mention of your *rapture*: look at him acting the part of *Unicorn* to *Lion* WALTHMAN. Look at him turning round, holding down his head and exposing his shoulders to be *cawed* by Mr. HEYGATE! You doubtless suffered a good deal, Mr. OGDEN. Your limbs loaded with irons; dragged and tossed about by ruffians; injured in a way to produce bodily pains the most acute; having thus suffered, and that, too, for no crime whatever, how deep must be your resentment against the man, who, wallowing in wealth and luxury, derived from the public purse, made your torments the

subject of a jest! I allow that it is difficult to prescribe bounds to your just resentment; but, yet do consider what it is for Mr. HEYGATE to have called the jester his *friend*; for Mr. HEYGATE to have *praised* him; for Mr. HEYGATE to have come forward a volunteer *sponsor for his political integrity*. Think of that, Mr. OGDEN: and then say, whether, rather than endure this, you would not be ruptured, cancered, scurvied, small-poxed; and, in short, be afflicted like Job with boils all over you from head to foot, and be compelled, like him, to take a "potsherd to scrape yourself withal." *I would, I most solemnly declare.* It would be impossible for CASTLEREAGH, if he were again alive, to invent any thing that I would not suffer, rather than undergo that which the jester underwent on Michaelmas Day.

The speech of our saucy enemy was perfectly suited to the circumstances under which it was delivered. The cawing of the "worthy magistrate," and of the

"respected *friend*," suggests to one to ask what PITT would say to this if he could be raised from the dead. What would Mr. CANNING himself have said to any one, who, only four years ago, had told him, that this thing would befall him? That he should go to a city dinner with nobody but Mr. HUSKISSON and WILLIAM LAMB to keep him in countenance; and that he should there caw and be cawed by Mr. WAITEMAN and Mr. HEYGATE? But, if the thought of this would have frightened him, what would have been his feelings upon being told, that he, the man of the two red lions and the King of Bohemia, the brazen eulogist of Old Sarum; he who has so many score times insisted upon the Government being a *monarchy*, acting totally independent of the voice of the people at large; he who has contended, that, if he consented to disfranchise Grampound, it is because he would preserve Old Sarum; he who has passed the whole of his political life in op-

posing every attempt to produce a change calculated to give any weight whatsoever, though in the smallest degree, to the public voice; what would have been his feelings, if when, the sessions before last, he contended that the Parliament was the *better* because it did not speak the peoples' voice, and when he instanced the Hanoverian succession in proof of it; what would have been his feelings, if he had then been told, "Eighteen months shall not elapse before you shall, both in words and deeds, give the lie to these your doctrines; for, to a city feast you shall go, where being appointed to play Unicorn to Lion WAITEMAN, you, being a Secretary of State, shall openly declare, that the *approbation of the King*, and the *respect of the Parliament* are *inadequate* to a Minister unless he be backed by the applause of his fellow citizens:" what would the feelings of this man have been if he had been told this *only* last year, when he was at Liver-

pool, prating away about the two red lions, and the King of Bohemia?

Here we have, even from the lips of our most saucy and audacious enemy, a full confession that a *reform* is necessary. If the approbation of the King and of both Houses of Parliament; if this be *inadequate* to the support of a Ministry; if Ministers cannot discharge their duty properly, unless they have the applause of their "*fellow citizens*," that is to say, of the *people at large*; if this be the case, is it not necessary, that there should be some mode of *ascertaining*, whether the Ministers have the applause of the people or not? Or, does Mr. CANNING mean by the fellow citizens of the Ministers, those groups of selfish and dirty creatures, that meet to booze and to güttle and to vomit out their drunken ideas upon the public? Is it the applause of creatures like these that he covets? If it be, a puncheon of rum, a pipe of wine and good parcels of greasy

virtuals will obtain him what he wants at any time; or, in cases where these be insufficient, a bribe in the shape of a ship license, or in the shape of a stock-jobbing hint, will never fail to answer the purpose.

It is the *people in general*; it is *their* applause which Mr. CANNING must mean. He says he must have this applause; for, without it, he cannot duly discharge the duties of his office. It is the applause of a decided *majority of the people*. This is what he says he must have; and his friend Mr. HEYGATE; his friend, who was one of the bitterest enemies of the poor Queen; this friend of his says, that Mr. CANNING *has the applause of a majority of the people*. Has he so? Let him poll them, then! Let him poll them, I say. He appeals to universal suffrage; but he takes care that we shall not have it. When they were passing the Six-Acts, and also when they were passing the former horrible dungeon laws, a charge against

the people was, that they wanted to have universal suffrage. This was imputed to them as a *crime*. And yet here is the man, who was more loud in his imputations than any other man, now declaring, that a Minister cannot duly discharge his functions, unless he have the *people at his back*. Mr. PLUNKETT, the present Attorney-General of Ireland, the "*liberal*" Attorney-General; this Mr. PLUNKETT, during the session of Six-Acts, said that such restraints were now become necessary, because the people had *got nearer to the Government than formerly*; that is to say, because they possessed more knowledge of public affairs, and looked more into these affairs than formerly. He said, that the lower classes, as he was pleased to call them, instead of spending their time cheerfully and happily *over their pipe and their pot*, as they formerly did, now spent it in *prying into the concerns of the Government*; and, therefore, he was for passing laws to impose new and heretofore un-

heard of restrictions upon them. Very well, 'Squire PLUNKETT; for you are a real 'Squire: but what says your brother Privy Counsellor, who was still more boisterous for the Six-Acts than you were? He now declares that this prying, as you call it, on the part of the people is absolutely necessary; for, if they do not look well into the acts of the Government, how are they to know when to applaud and when to censure the acts of the Ministers? In short, here is a man, a Minister, publicly declaring, that the applause of the people is necessary to the due discharge of his functions as a Minister; here is a man declaring that *free discussion* is necessary to the very existence of the Government; and, in 1819, this man was one of the most forward in calling for, and voting for, and defending and eulogizing Acts of Parliament, made for the express purpose, not only of checking but of totally putting an end to every thing like free discussion; Acts of Parliament

which punished with transportation and even with death, the holding of Public Meetings, except meetings called by the persons and aristocracy themselves; Acts of Parliament to punish with banishment for life, any man who should write, print or publish any thing having a **TENDENCY** to bring the *Government* into hatred or contempt! This is a pretty consistent gentleman. He cannot get on without the *applause of the people*. The approbation of the King and of the Parliament, too, is not enough for him: he must have the voice of the people to support him, or else he can do no good; and yet, if those people meet publicly, even in a room, if the room be *paid for*, (and he well knows that they cannot have a room without paying for it,) or if they write or publish any thing that any Minister does not like, he will have them fined, imprisoned, banished, and, in case of great obstinacy, or any attempts to resist his Justices, in making an endeavour to get at free discus-

sion, he will have them *transported or hanged!*

Well: come, then; we shall see, in about a year's time, whether the gentleman be really a convert; for, on the 24th December, 1824, the Act relating to *Public Meetings* is to expire. Not the rest of the Six-Acts, however; not the laws relative to the press, which are a thousand times more inimical to liberty than the laws relating to the press in France. These laws, these English laws, I mean, have a direct tendency to subject the whole of the press to the will of the Government. The licenses, the bonds and all the other shackles were manifestly contrived for the purpose of leaving the press with some remains of the air of freedom about it, while it was, in fact, nothing but a tool of the Government. However, the Six-Acts law about public meetings will expire; and, much about that time, I take it, these very same Ministers will see cause for discovering something or ano-

ther as a ground for the continuation and the perpetration of the Act. In 1817, I said that the Power-of-Imprisonment Bill; that is to say, the dungeon system, would last just as long as the Bank-note and the Borough system. The dungeon system appeared to be put an end to in the early part of 1819; but, before the end of that year, it was revived under another form, and has been continued ever since, under the auspices of Six-Acts; and, this ought now to be called the *Six-Acts Government*. It is no more like the old Government of England than a vulture is like a tame hen. This very Mr. CANNING, who now talks about the necessity of *free discussion*, and who appeals to the people for the assistance of their applause, actually made it matter of *boast*, in a Speech that he made to his base followers at Liverpool; he actually made it matter of *boast*, that the Parliament had *silenced* the people by Six-Acts; nay, he, in that speech, most explicitly declared, that the *Parlia-*

ment spoke the voice of the people, and that it was efficient for all good purposes: and yet he now comes before the public voluntarily; he seeks an occasion to get before the public; he contrives to get wedged into a dinner, even alongside of William Lamb, who, by-the-by, spoke and voted for Sidmouth's Power - of - Imprisonment Bill, because it was necessary, he said, to preserve the liberties of the people. This is the same WILLIAM LAMB, whom, as the newspapers told us, appeared before the Police Magistrates, the other day to vouch for his wife's sweetness and gentleness of temper. This is the same WILLIAM LAMB, whose brother has just returned from some foreign envoy ship. Contrived, I say, to get wedged into a dinner, even alongside of WILLIAM LAMB, for apparently, the express purpose of declaring, that the voice of King and Parliament are nothing, when compared with the voice of the people!

If this be true, can such a man

be an honest man: if this be his opinion, can he be an honest man, and can he meet the Parliament without a proposition for reforming that Parliament? What other mode has he of coming at the sense of the people: what other mode than that of putting them to the vote? How does he ascertain the will of the House of Commons? By putting the matter to the vote, which is precisely that which the reformers wish to do with regard to the whole nation. He acknowledges that the approbation of the King and of the present Parliament, is not sufficient for him. He wants that of the people, too; and he must mean of the people who have no votes at elections; because the others are already represented. It is the unrepresented part whose applause he wants. What has he to do, then, but to drive out the boroughmongers, and let the people speak? A Reformed Parliament would tell him at once what the people say, and what they think and what they want. Such

D

a Parliament would save him the trouble, and the disgrace, too, of poking his nose into dinners along with Yankee Consuls and paper-money makers. Such a Parliament, in short, would distinctly declare the applause of the people, in favour of those whose conduct the people applauded. His present mode of coming at the opinions of the people is the wildest that can be imagined. He has the approbation of the King, he says; and also that of the Parliament; and, in order to ascertain whether he have that of the people, he goes to a dinner of license-hunting, toad-eating Merchants at Liverpool, or of gormandizers in the City of London, the Corporation of which City actually shares pretty largely in the powers and profits of the system.

This gentleman, when Mr. MADDOCKS offered to prove at the Bar of the House of Commons, that CASTLEREAGH had sold a seat with the connivance of PERCIVAL, this gentleman then said he would not hear the evidence at the bar;

and that it was time to make a stand against democratical encroachment. He had himself, only a few weeks before, spoken and voted against adopting measures of rigour against CASTLEREAGH, because the act of which CASTLEREAGH was then accused, was only that of having been engaged in *dealings* about a seat. The bargain was not concluded; and, therefore, said this our hero; therefore, I am for passing the thing over. But, a resolution was, at the same time, put upon the Journals, which resolution declared that proceedings against CASTLEREAGH were not adopted; only because the bargain was not concluded. Very well, said Mr. MADDOCKS; I have got a bargain for you that was concluded. I'll bring you evidence to the bar; if you will let me, to prove that one Privy Councillor sold the seat and that the other connived at it; that the bargain was that the purchaser of the seat should vote with the Minister; and that the same purchaser having refused to vote with

them, in the case of the Duke of York, he was called upon to give up his seat, and he did give it up. This affair was *concluded*, then, said Mr. MANDOCKS; and, you surely will let me produce my evidence; especially as the ink is hardly dry, which put your resolution of the other day upon your Journals. NO, said our hero: we will not hear your evidence, and it is time for us to make a stand against democratical encroachment.

Can the reader scarcely believe that it is this same man who now seeks an occasion to proclaim that King and Parliament, both together, are nothing without the voice of the people? Mr. HUSKISSON, indeed, who once belonged to the Jacobin Club at Paris, might readily enough call to mind how bodies of the people, wholly unknown to the law, might make themselves more powerful than the King and the Legislature both put together; but, it is scarcely possible for any one not well acquainted with the history

of the Jacobin Club, to form an idea of any thing more monstrous, more wild, and more completely characteristic of anarchy, than the doctrine here laid down by Mr. CANNING. It is the very principle of mob Government. Here is King mob put above King and Parliament. I am not quite sure whether Mr. CANNING was a Privy Counsellor; but I know that he was in office, at the time when the DUKE OF NORFOLK was cashiered as a Lord-Lieutenant, and as the Colonel of a regiment, because he gave as a Toast, "Our Sovereign, the Majesty of the People;" and I perfectly well remember, that Mr. CANNING, in the Anti-Jacobin newspaper, not only defended this cashiering, but applauded it to the skies. He called the dinner, at which the feast was given, a "disgusting scene." But was the scene more disgusting than this scene at Stationers' Hall? It was, in fact, the Anti-Jacobin newspaper, which gave the *hint* to cashier the Duke of Norfolk. Mind, this

Anti-Jacobin newspaper was conducted under the direction of Mr. CANNING. The toast was given on Mr. Fox's birth-day, in the year 1798. In a short time afterwards, the Anti-Jacobin made the following note upon the toast: "The company seemed to have recollected (had his *Grace* forgotten!) that the *Duke of Norfolk* has another sovereign, to whom he has recently, more than once, sworn allegiance; and under whom he NOW holds the *Lieutenancy of the West Riding of York*, and the command of a regiment of militia." In less than a week after this note had been published, the Duke was cashiered. And yet, the same man who thus pointed out this punishment of the Duke of Norfolk, now thrusts himself forward to proclaim a principle much more democratical than that proclaimed by the Duke. The Duke's expression was merely *figurative*; and the Duke was not a Minister; but here we have a Minister, literally asserting that

the approbation of the King and of the Parliament is not sufficient for him, unless backed by the voice of the people.

After this we may, I think, venture to hope that we shall never again be insulted by the lofty talk of Mr. CANNING. Far be it from me to quarrel with him for his new sentiments, provided he act up to them; nor do I care much about the motives which have sent him and his colleague, Mr. HUSKISSON, about to these dinners to beat up for popularity. The motives, however, must not be overlooked. It is even necessary to remark upon those motives; for the conversion has been so sudden and so wonderful, that if we were to leave the natural cause without pointing it out, some persons, somewhat too fervent in their piety, might be disposed to think, that Prince Hohenloe had been at work here as well as in Ireland.

If we but take the trouble to reflect a little on the present state of public affairs, and at what may

possibly happen at Windsor or elsewhere, in the course of a few years or months, we shall soon perceive, that the conduct of Messrs. CANNING and HUSKISSON may be looked at without inspiring us with a belief in miracles. They know (for now they must know), the wretched state in which the landlords and farmers are placed. They must know, that a revolution in property is going on. I have been informed, by an anonymous writer, that the Lord Mayor did not put forth that string of impudent lies about the *prosperity of the country*, which is ascribed to him in the above Report taken by me from the Morning Chronicle. The Lord Mayor's speech, as above reported, is no more than one of those tissues of empty boastings and of impudent lies, which we everlastingly hear at these dinners, and which are to be excused only upon the supposition, that they proceed from the lips of drunken men. But, my anonymous correspondent assures me, that the Lord Mayor did not

utter the silly lies above quoted; but, on the contrary, that, though he did speak of the flourishing state of the manufactures, he *lamented that he could not say the same of agriculture*; that is to say, of the nation.

Mr. CANNING is made to say, that the country, in general; that the *whole country*, in short, is in a state of *almost unexampled prosperity*, and that he thinks this prosperity to be solid. Now, if Mr. CANNING did say this, he must be the most ignorant, or the most insincere, man that ever existed. The Lord Mayor is connected with the county of Suffolk. He is returned to Parliament, I believe, by that sweet sink-hole, Sudbury. The Lord Mayor deserves the harshest of censure if he could sit, and, without remark, hear Mr. Canning utter the words ascribed to him. I have, lying before me, the *Suffolk Chronicle* of the 27th of last month. That one newspaper contains a *hundred and four advertisements of farming stock to be sold off by auction*,

and also of *farmers' household goods to be sold off by auction.*

Now, the county of Suffolk does not contain but about eight hundred square miles. Here are not quite eight square miles to a sale.

Eight square miles are contained in a space which is less than *three miles square*; that is to say, three miles each way; for three times three make *nine*. So that there is, at this moment, one farmer, *actually broken up* in every spot of three miles square throughout the county of Suffolk; that is to say, there is not, upon an average, any spot in that fine county, where you can go and place yourself at three miles distance from one of these heart-rending scenes, the breaking up of a farmer's family and affairs, the scattering of his servants and the dispersion of his animals and his implements! And this is Mr. CANNING's "universal and almost unexampled prosperity."

Let Mr. CANNING go down into the county of Suffolk, and look at these scenes of breaking up. The

farmers and their wives and children he will scarcely see. He may hear of them; but they have already decamped: and the farmer is in gaol, or dependant upon charity, and the doors of the work-house are opening to the rest.

Cruel, however, as is their fate, is it more cruel than that of the unoffending labourers? If, just

after Mr. CANNING had finished his speech, some one had (and I would if I had been present),

stepped to the back of his chair, and, leaning over his shoulder, said, "Sir, your body is full of

"wine and turtle; yet you are a Minister, and it becomes you to

"think of the manner in which

"millions upon millions of His

"Majesty's subjects *dine*. You

"have seen your own bill of fare:

"here, Sir, is that of a very large

"portion of the King's subjects in

"the Hundreds of LODDON and

"CLAVERING, in the fertile, and

"(before the time of PITT and

"paper-money), happy county of

"Norfolk, inhabited by the most

"skillful, the most enterprising,

“ the most industrious, and by far
 “ the most laborious of all His
 “ Majesty's industrious and laborious subjects. Here is their
 “ bill of fare, put forth by the parsons and others, look at it, Sir,
 “ and let your dinner remain
 “ quiet upon your stomach, if you
 “ can.—

“ At a General Quarterly and
 “ Annual Meeting of the Directors and acting Guardians of
 “ the Poor, within the said
 “ Hundreds, held at Loddon on
 “ the 30th of June 1823,

“ Resolved,

“ That necessitous poor persons resident in and belonging
 “ to these Hundreds, when destitute of employment, be relieved
 “ until the Monday after the next
 “ Quarterly Meeting, according to
 “ the following scale of allowance,
 “ the expense to be borne by the
 “ Corporation.

“ A man with a wife and three children at home, at per day 10d.

“ And to be permitted to send such other child or children as he hath at home, above three in number, into the House of Industry.

“ A man with a wife and two children at home, at per day 9d.

“ A man with a wife and one child at home, at per day 8d.

“ A man with a wife, but no child at home, at per day 6d.

“ Single men of twenty years of age and upwards, at per day 4d.

“ The above reliefs to commence this day, and to be ordered by the Directors, acting

“ Guardians, CLERGYMEN,

“ Churchwardens, and Overseers in each parish, who are empowered to form a Vestry Meeting

“ for that purpose every Monday, at such hour as is most convenient to them: any two of whom

“ to be competent to order such relief to the poor resident in their respective parishes.”

What! Twopence a-day! Two copper pennies a-day for a human being to live upon! Ten-pence a-day for a father, mother, and three children to live upon; and that too, at a time when bread was very nearly twopence a-pound. Here is not nearly the half of gaol allowance; and while this is going on; while this horrid

system of starvation is crushing the labouring classes to the earth, the meanest *soldier* is receiving thirteen pence a-day to himself, besides *lodging, firing, candle, and clothing!* This is prosperity almost unexampled, is it, Mr. CANNING?

If you did utter these words, there is no censure, however harsh, can reach your demerits. You deserve punishment, of some sort or other, either for your ignorance or your impudence. When one looks at the sufferings of the labouring people, one can hardly find patience to restrain oneself from attempting some act of vengeance or other. However the thing will work its cure. The authors of the mischief will finally be made to drink off the cup of sorrow to the dregs. In the meanwhile, great is the delight that I feel at seeing the estates pass away from the present possessors. "If," says the Morning Chronicle of the other day; "if the property purchased by Mr. FARQUHAR from Mr. Bennett of

Wiltshire, be added to Fonthill the domain will then form one of the most splendid estates in this kingdom. Fonthill Abbey is itself a residence for a Prince."

Aye, to be sure, Prince FARQUHAR; Prince *Powderman*; and a very good Prince, too. We had heard enough of "Fonthill Abbey" before: we had seen (and to my great amusement), the Scotch Nabob tripping up the heels of the English West Indian slave-driver, who, being a Protestant by profession and by oath, has built an *abbey*: we had heard enough about this, through the enormously expensive puffs of the Nabob; but I had not before heard about "the property," purchased by the powderman "from Mr. BENETT of Wiltshire." Oh! hc! Mr. BENETT! And so you are hooked into the puffs of the Nabob! I remember you, Mr. BENETT, petitioning for a Corn Bill; and promising to pay taxes cheerfully if you could get but high prices. But I remember you

also in another capacity; that of a *landholder* of Wiltshire, who, being asked how much a labourer and his family ought to have to live upon, answered, "We calculate, that every person in a labourer's family, should have per week the price of a gallon loaf, and *three-pence*, over for *feeding* and *clothing*, exclusive of house rent, sickness and casual expenses."

This appeared horrible at the time; perfectly horrible in 1814; but the Clergymen and others of the Hundreds of LODDON and CLAVERING appear to have discovered a still lower degree in the scale of human existence. But I do feel consoled by the notification, so kindly made to us by Mr. FARQUHAR, who has got some of Mr. BENETT's land at any rate; unless, indeed, the puff be a lie as well as a puff. The like is going on all over the country. The Jews, the Jobbers and the Quakers are bundling the insolent old Normans out into the road. The whole thing is ready

to tumble to pieces. The old Normans are making use of all sorts of expedients to keep their heads under cover. They are *mortgaging*; they are *raising terms*, as they call it; they are selling their plate; they are selling their horses, dogs, and even their clothing, in some cases; their goods, their exotics; every thing is going away from them, unless from those who are tax-eaters, either as fundholders, placemen or pensioners. We do not perceive their real state as yet. They have not quite exhausted the farmers; but by-and-by, we shall see a grand breaking up of them; and, whenever we do see one of them broken up, let us not fail to call to mind, the Bill of Fare of LODDON and CLAVERING!

Now, the truth is, that in spite of all their big talk, Mr. CANNING and Mr. HUSKISSON know well that a general breaking up must take place. They are convinced (or else they must be mad), that there must be, and that before it

be long, a *very great change*. In this change they must know that the *people* will have a great deal to say; and they have a mind, I dare say, not to be, if they can avoid it, held in detestation by the people. This aristocracy and clergy, appear to have carried things to their utmost stretch. They could carry them no further. They have extended their powers solely by the means of the debt which they have contracted; and that same debt is now going to strip them to the skin. Our two *dining* gentlemen see this plainly enough; and they would be foolish indeed if they were not to look out in time, and to make their preparations for the worst.

Want of time prevents me from making some remarks upon the *pacific* part of Mr. CANNING's speech, and upon the "*liberal policy*" of Mr. HUSKISSON. The close of the war in Spain will very soon put the policy of both these gentlemen to the test. They may try to conciliate the people; but the day is past. If they live

but a few years, to be disgraced, as public men, and then to be speedily forgotten, is sure to be their lot; and that you may live to laugh at the jester in your turn, is the sincere wish of

Your Friend and

Most obedient Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

AMERICAN TREES.

I HAVE not had time to attend to the many letters that I have received upon this subject. I will in my next give such general answer as shall be satisfactory to all parties. There is plenty of time. The backwardness of the season will in all probability, keep the leaves on until late in November; and the trees cannot be taken up; or at least, they ought not, until the leaves be off.

MARKETS.

Average Prices of CORN throughout ENGLAND, for the week ending 20th September.

Per Quarter.

	s.	d.
Wheat	47	7
Rye	29	6
Barley	27	7
Oats	21	6
Beans	34	7
Peas	32	3

Corn Exchange, Mark Lane.

Quantities and Prices of British Corn, &c. sold and delivered in this Market, during the week ended Saturday, 27th September.

Qrs.	£.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Wheat.. 6,579 for 15,951	6	4	Average, 48	5	
Barley.. 1,395	2,076	14	7	29	9
Oats.. 9,168	10,819	4	5	23	7
Rye..... 36	57	4	0	31	9
Beans.. 1,344	2,692	7	3	33	8
Peas.... 1,760	2,860	10	3	32	4

Quarters of English Grain, &c. arrived Coastwise, from Sept. 29 to Oct. 4, inclusive.

Wheat.. 5,940	Pease.... 1,904
Barley... 3,573	Tares..... 27
Malt..... 3,491	Linseed.... —
Oats..... 9,870	Rape..... 82
Rye..... 28	Brank..... —
Beans... 1,423	Mustard... 210

Various Seeds 278 qrs.—Flour 6,188 sacks.

From Ireland.—Oats 910 qrs.—Flour 50 sacks.

Foreign.—Tares 15; Linseed 1,570; Brank 680; Mustard 20; Hemp 280; and Indian Corn 1,020 quarters.

Friday, Oct. 3.—The arrivals this week are only moderate. Prime dry samples of Wheat obtain a further advance of 1s. to 2s. per quarter on the currency of last Monday, and other qualities sell rather more freely. Barley goes off very heavily at hardly such good prices as Monday. Beans and Peas have no alteration. The best parcels of Oats meet a more ready sale, and fully maintain their last quotations.

Monday, Oct. 6.—The arrivals of all sorts of Grain last week were only moderate, and this morning the fresh supply consists chiefly of a fair quantity of samples of Wheat, Barley, Beans, Peas, and Oats, of the present year's growth, from Essex, Kent and Suffolk. Prime dry parcels of Old Wheat obtain an advance of 2s. per quarter on the prices of this day se'nnight, and New samples also have obtained rather more money; but the trade for Wheat has become heavier, and samples at all damp with difficulty meet buyers.

Barley continues to find a very dull sale, and hardly supports last quotations. In Beans and Grey Peas there is no alteration. Good boiling Peas that will break, commands rather higher prices. There has been more freedom in the sale of good old Oats to-day, and the prices are rather higher than on Monday last. Flour is unaltered.

COUNTRY CORN MARKETS.

By the QUARTER, excepting where otherwise named; from Wednesday to Saturday last, inclusive.

The Scotch Markets are the Returns of the Week before.

WHEAT.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Uxbridge, per load	9l.	0s.	16l.	0s.
Aylesbury.. ditto	9l.	0s.	13l.	10s.
Newbury	42	0	—	60 0
Reading	40	0	—	55 0
Henley	40	0	—	52 0
Banbury	44	0	—	54 0
Devizes	40	0	—	64 0
Warminster	42	0	—	64 0
Sherborne	0	0	—	0 0
Dorchester, per load ...	11l.	0s.	15l.	10s.
Exeter, per bushel	7	6	—	8 0
Lewes	44	0	—	55 0
Guildford, per load....	10l.	0s.	16l.	10s.
Winchester, ditto	9l.	0s.	16l.	0s.
Basingstoke	36	0	—	58 0
Chelmsford, per load ..	0l.	0s.	0l.	0s.
Yarmouth.....	40	0	—	43 0
Birmingham.....	0	0	—	0 0
Lynn	36	0	—	46 0
Horncastle	38	0	—	46 0
Stamford	30	0	—	50 0
Northampton	42	0	—	48 0
Truro, 24 galls. to a bush.	18	6	—	0 0
Swansea, per bushel....	7	0	—	0 0
Nottingham	46	0	—	0 0
Derby, 34 quarts to bush.	44	0	—	54 0
Newcastle	32	0	—	54 0
Dalkeith, per boll *	28	0	—	36 0
Haddington, ditto*.....	25	0	—	34 6

* The Scotch boll is 3 per cent more than 4 bushels.

Liverpool, Sept. 30.—The greater part of the last week having continued favourable for the harvest, there was very little business done in any description of Grain, and the few sales partially effected to needy buyers only, were at about the prices of this day se'nnight. The market of this day was tolerably well attended by the town millers and bakers, but, they not having purchased beyond their im-

mediate requirement, there was but little business done in any article of the trade, so that prices remain non-inally the same as last advised.—Imported into Liverpool from the 23d to the 29th September, 1823, inclusive:—Wheat 366; Oats 2269; Malt 249; and Pease 80 quarters. Oatmeal 770 packs per 240 lbs. Flour 405 sacks, and 140 barrels.

Norwich, Oct. 4.—Business was rather brisker to-day, at a trifling advance of prices, say for good new Wheats, 44s. to 45s. and 48s.; and for prime old Reds, 54s. per quarter; Barley, 25s. to 26s. per quarter; Beans and Peas lower, say from 21s. to 25s. per quarter.

Bristol, Oct. 4.—The sales of Corn, &c. here, are very heavy and little is doing. Prices, at present, may be considered nearly as below:—Best Wheat from 7s. 6d. to 7s. 8d.; inferior ditto, 4s. 6d. to 6s.; Barley, 3s. to 3s. 6d.; Beans, 3s. 6d. to 5s. 3d.; Oats, 2s. to 3s.; and Malt 4s. 6d. to 6s. 6d. per bushel. Flour, Seconds, 26s. to 48s. per bag.

Ipswich, Oct. 4.—Our market to-day was largely supplied with Barley, but the quality in general is very coarse and bad coloured; but little of any thing else. Wheat was 3s. per quarter dearer for best qualities. Prices as follow:—Old Wheat, 50s. to 56s.; New ditto, 31s. to 47s.; Barley, 20s. to 25s.; Beans, new, 27s. to 28s.; Peas, 24s. to 26s.; and Oats, 20s. to 24s. per quarter.

Wisbech, Oct. 4.—Our Wheat market was rather brisk again this day, and prices advanced; best samples fetched from 46s. to 48s. per quarter; every other article dull, without variation in price.

Boston, Oct. 1.—We had but a very small supply of Grain at this day's market. Wheat is rather

upon the advance, and sold rather better than last week's prices.—

Wheat, 40s. to 47s.; Oats, 19s. to 21s.; Beans, 35s. to 37s.; Barley, 26s.; and New ditto, 24s. per qr. Very little demand for Old Wheat at the present.

Wakefield, Oct. 3.—There has been a large supply of Wheat for this day's market, a great portion of which was new. Of other descriptions of Grain the arrival is small. Old Wheats were 1s. per quarter dearer, but there was no alteration in New. Barley saleable at 28s. to 32s. per quarter. The price of Oats and Shelling remain as last week. Beans are in request, but the value remains the same. Malt dull sale, and rather lower. Rapeseed as last week.

Mallon, Oct. 4.—Very slight alteration took place in the prices of Grain this week, but more brisk.—Wheat, old, 54s. to 56s.; New ditto, 48s. to 50s. per quarter, five stone per bushel. Barley, 26s. to 28s. per quarter. Oats, 10d. to 10½d. per stone.

SMITHFIELD, Monday, Oct. 6th.

Per Stone of 8 pounds (alive).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	2	6	to	3 4
Mutton.....	3	0	—	3 8
Veal.....	4	0	—	4 8
Pork.....	3	10	—	4 6
Lamb	3	8	—	4 4

Beasts ... 3,535 | Sheep ... 24,340
Calves 280 | Pigs 300

NEWGATE (same day).

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	2	4	to	3 0
Mutton.....	2	4	—	3 4
Veal	3	0	—	5 0
Pork.....	3	0	—	5 8
Lamb	0	0	—	0 0

LEADENHALL (same day).

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef.....	2	0	to	3 2
Mutton.....	2	4	—	3 4
Veal.....	3	4	—	5 0
Pork.....	3	0	—	5 6
Lamb.....	3	0	—	4 0

City, 8 October 1823.

BACON.

There has been no material variation in the prices of this article during the past week: upon the whole we think it more likely to advance than decline, notwithstanding the great and sudden fall in the prices of butcher's meat; for there are now so many merchants (as they call themselves, or jobbers as they ought to be called, for the term merchant is not applicable to their calling); so many self-styled merchants, who have no regular occupation, that they will probably go on in the course they have lately been pursuing, until, by a general failure, they are swept away as a similar race was about nine or ten years ago.—On board, for immediate shipments, 34s. to 36s.; for forward shipments, 32s.—Landed, Old, 36s. to 40s.; New, 42s. to 45s.

BUTTER.

The opinion we expressed last week has been verified: speculation is again on foot—and this in

the face of a prodigious excess in this market, as well as at all the out-ports. But, as we said before, an advance was necessary to enable the importers to realize a profit; and in such an uncertain state of things, it is enough to look to the *present moment*.—On board, Carlow, 80s. to 82s.—Belfast, 78s. to 79s.—Waterford, 74s. to 76s.—Dublin, 76s. to 77s.—Cork, or Limerick, 72s. to 73s.—Landed: Carlow, 82s. to 84s.—Belfast, 80s. to 82s.—Waterford, 76s. to 78s.—Dublin, 76s. to 78s.—Cork, and Limerick, 75s. to 76s.—Dutch, 92s. to 96s.—Holstein, 80s. to 88s.

CHEESE.

The supply of Cheese continues short, and the late prices are obtained.—Old Cheshire, 66s. to 80s.—Coloured Derby, (old) 72s. to 74s.; New, 58s. to 63s.—Double Gloucester, 56s. to 64s.; Single, 48s. to 60s.

Since our last, another failure has taken place: the parties in this case are not *cheesemongers*, but *merchants*. They were considered respectable, but totally inexperienced in the trade. There are, unfortunately for themselves as well as for others, too many of this description; the facility of getting into this trade, rendering it open to any one who may choose to adventure.

POTATOES.

SPIITALFIELDS.—per Ton.

Ware	£2 0 to £3 10
Middlings.....	1 10 — 1 15
Chats.....	1 10 — 0 0
Common Red..	0 0 — 0 0
Onions..1s. 6d.—2s. 0d.	per bush.

BOROUGH.—per Ton.

Ware.....	£2 5 to £3 0
Middlings.....	1 15 — 2 0
Chats.....	1 10 — 0 0
Common Red..	0 0 — 0 0
Onions..0s. 0d.—0s. 0d.	per bush.

HAY and STRAW, per Load.

Smithfield.—Hay...	80s. to 100s.
Straw...	40s. to 46s.
Clover	100s. to 115s.
St. James's.—Hay...	63s. to 110s.
Straw...	42s. to 48s.
Clover...	86s. to 126s.
Whitechapel.—Hay...	90s. to 95s.
Straw...	38s. to 48s.
Clover...	95s. to 135s.

Price of HOPS, per Cwt. in the BOROUGH.

Monday, Oct. 6.—New Hops are selling from 11l. 11s. to 16l. 10s.: the great difference between new and old must cause more inquiry for them. The Duty 20,000l, but few will back that sum. Currency of Yearlings and old remain the same.

Maidstone, Oct. 2.—Our Hop picking is now pretty generally over, and a dismal finish it has been, for, with a few exceptions,

being the thinnest land and planted with the grape, the crop turns out to almost nothing; many acres laid at a bag per acre scarcely produced 1 cwt. As to the trade we can say but little about, for the Planters are looking to and asking much higher prices here than they are worth in the Borough Market, consequently there is nothing stirring. Duty stated at 20,000/.

Worcester, Sept. 27.—Not much business doing at present. Prices rather higher than last week, but very few sold.

COAL MARKET, Oct. 3.

Ships at Market. Ships sold. Price.

10½ Newcastle.. 9½.. 35s. 0d. to 44s. 3d.

1 Sunderland.. 1 .. 37s. 6d.—0s. 0d.

IN THE LAST REGISTER,

Page 10, line 12, instead of "But it has been carried," &c. read, "But it has *not* been carried," &c.

In page 11, line 10, for *cash*, read *trash*.

In page 31, line 7, for *reception*, read *deception*.

In page 55, line 3 from the bottom, for *harmless* read *hornless*.

In page 56, line 16 from the bottom, for "Five fat ewes," read "Five fat ewes."

COBBETT'S WEEKLY REGISTER.

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Published every Saturday Morning, at Seven o'Clock.

TO

THE MEN OF KENT.

On the fall of Cadiz, and on the state of England, compared with that of France.

—
Kentington, October 15, 1833.

GENTLEMEN,

ANOTHER of my "lying prophecies" now stands before the public. The base, corrupt and stupid press of London has been entertaining its besotted readers with what it calls my "*false prophecies*." Another of these false prophecies has, I say, now been placed before the public. From the very dawn of the French project for the invasion of Spain, I warned my readers, that the intention of France was to get possession of the fleets and arsenals

and ports of Spain, and, in short, to make that country in effect a part of the French dominions. The scots, who conduct the London press, put an idiot laugh upon my warning; called me a croaker; called me a "*false prophet*;" and called upon its brutified readers to give money into the hands of the profound statesmen composing the "*Spanish Committee*," in order that these statesmen might supply the heroes in Spain with the sinews of war.

At all the balderdash of the Hobhouses, the Whitbreads, the Bot Smiths, the Erskines (the patriotic Erskines); at all this balderdash; and at the no less glaring balderdash of the renowned defenders of the poor Queen: at their balderdash at Westminster, in the CITY, at GLASGOW, at NOTTINGHAM; at the eloquent

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trades of the one and at the stupid and hollow noise of the other, who declared, at NOTTINGHAM a week or two ago, that the fate of *Mantya* was about to be decided in Spain : at all this balderdash, all this rant, all this noise and nonsense, I have constantly laughed, and the greater part of my readers have laughed along with me. Not thus, however, has it been with the far greater part of this deluded, and justly punished public, who deserves to suffer, and to suffer severely, too, for the encouragement which it has given and still gives to this corrupt and infamous press.

CADIZ is now in the hands of the French. This is no Battle of Waterloo affair. In the first place, it is a conquest not obtained by a debt of eight hundred millions of money. The French have subdued Spain by *themselves*: Mr. BROUGHAM anticipated, that they would have to call in the *Cossacks* and *Calmucs* to their aid. His lying friends of the London press ; those whom he declares to afford

us the best means of public instruction ever devised by human ingenuity ; these "*highly respectable*" ruffians assured their benodded readers, that a Russian army was marching down towards the Rhine, and that another Russian army was about to be conveyed by sea to be landed in Catalonia, in order to assist the French in their subjugation of Spain ; and these base and bawling newspapers affected to ridicule the idea of the conquest being achieved by France alone.

Day by day (for I then had the columns of a newspaper in my hand) ; day by day, as these lies made their appearance, I detected and exposed them. Of little avail, however, was this : the corrupt and stupid creatures were believed by a large portion of the people ; and the delusion was kept up from week to week and from month to month in spite of the evidences of men's senses. Cadiz has, however, *fallen* ; this is a fact which even this corrupt press cannot keep from the know-

ledge of the public. This is unquestionably the *most important maritime fortress in the world*. This fortress is now in the hands of the French, and in their hands it will, in effect, remain *as long as the English National Debt shall last*. The newspapers which give us an account of the fall of Cadiz, tell us also that it is said at Paris, that the **FRENCH MEAN TO KEEP POSSESSION OF THAT FORTRESS, AS LONG AS WE KEEP POSSESSION OF GIBRALTAR!** Good. My readers will recollect that I said, before the French actually marched into Spain, that, unless the interest of the English Debt were almost annihilated, the **FRENCH WOULD HAVE US OUT OF GIBRALTAR IN THREE YEARS**. "This appears likely to become another *"false prophecy."* Cadiz is worth fifty times as much as Gibraltar. It is superior to it for every purpose whatever; and in every respect it is beyond all measure more valuable. There are the French in

possession of it; and, upon what ground are WE to object to their keeping possession of it? *Temporary possession of that and of all the fortresses in Spain we shall hardly have the impudence; I mean the modesty (for our impudence is modesty); we shall hardly have the modesty to object to their having temporary possession, seeing that when we had "conquered France," we insisted upon keeping possession of certain parts of France for five years, and of taking certain fortresses away from her for ever as we thought. Our pretext for keeping up an army in France and for making the French people pay for it; our pretext for these was, that our army was necessary to prevent the "hydra of revolution from tearing its hideous head."* And shall not the French keep up an army in Spain, and take possession of Spanish fortresses, and make the Spanish people pay their army for the same purposes? Is there one law, one gospel, one moral

principle, one rule of right for us, and are there others for *them*? Have we sung God save great George our King, have we blustered, bragged and bullied; have we gained victories on the Serpentine river (though we gained none on the Lakes of Canada); has Mr. BROUGHAM bothered us about the greatest Captain of the age, until we, at last, believe in good earnest, that we are to bind down all other nations by the strict rules of moral rectitude, while we ourselves, in our quality of the "greatest Empire in the world," are to plead an exemption from all rules whatever? If we have brought ourselves to this belief, the French will presently undeceive us; for they will keep possession of Spain, and Monsieur de CHATEAUBRIAND will give Mr. CANNING some pretty rappings upon the knuckles, if he shall venture to utter a word in the way of *remonstrance*.

Will Mr. CANNING say, by what right do you hold these fortresses? If he do, the answer will be, by

the same right that you held the fortresses of France. Will he tell them, that they entered Spain not to make war against the King of Spain, but against his rebellious subjects? They will answer, and did you enter France as enemies of the King of France? No; you entered it as the *allies* of the King of France: you called yourselves his allies: you declared that you were making war *for* the people and King of France, and only *against* the usurper and his adherents; and yet, being in France, having, as the allies of the King and people of France, got into the country with nearly a million of men of different nations in your pay; having thus got into France, you dictated terms to the King of France; you quartered an army in his country and made his people pay for it; you took away fortresses of defence from his frontiers; and you stript his galleries and museums.

What reply would our jesting Minister have to make to an answer like this? No reply, to be

sure; for even unto brass itself it is not given to afford the face necessary to such reply. And, as to GIBRALTAR! As to this ticklish point, upon what ground are we to call upon the French to quit Cadiz as long as we hold Gibraltar? Are we to say to the French: You have no right to Cadiz, seeing that you did not take it in *open war against the King of Spain*, as we took Gibraltar? The French would answer, Why do you keep the Cape of Good Hope and the Island of Ceylon? You took them, *not when at open war against the Stadtholder*; but when you were professing to make war for the Stadtholder, and while the Stadtholder was actually *living in England*. Again, Why did you take and why do you keep MALTA? MALTA belonged to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. The French revolutionists took it from the Knights. You took it from the French; *but did you restore it to the Knights?* Oh! no! At the peace of Amiens you stipulated solemnly to restore it to

the Knights; but you went to war again, when you were called upon to fulfil the stipulation, and your Ministers openly declared in Parliament, that one of the objects of your new war was to enable you to avoid the surrendering of Malta?

Will our Minister answer and say: "Aye; but these things took place a long while ago: *treaties* have been made since we took possession of the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE and of MALTA; and these places have been *ceded and guaranteed* to us by these treaties." — "Oh!" the French Minister will say, "is that all you want? *Morbleu!* we will give you *treaties* enough! you shall have half a dozen of them by the next post: one for CADIZ, another for CORUNNA; and, if you wish it, for every sea-port and fortified town in Spain: *treaties* are cheap enough things. They do not cost above fifty livres apiece, though made in the name of the Holy and undivided Trinity. Six penny-worth of paper, pens, ink, and

"wax, and a day's work for a clerk, makes CADIZ as lawfully ours as the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE and MALTA and GIBRALTAR are yours."

Now, Gentlemen, what is our Minister to find to say, in answer to this. Some crazy poet exclaims, "Oh! for a muse of fire!" Our Secretary of State is a poet; and, as I told him long ago, he must write under the influence of a Muse of *gunpowder*, or it is perfectly useless for him to attempt to dispute with the French. However, it must be confessed that there is no ground whatever for our keeping GIBRALTAR, which will not equally serve the French as a ground for keeping CADIZ: nay, they have a ground for keeping CADIZ, and fair ground, too, which we have not for keeping GIBRALTAR. If we say that we have it; they will surely say of CADIZ, we have it also. If we say, we have had GIBRALTAR for a hundred years and more, they will doubtless say, that there was a time, when we had not had it a

hundred days; and that, we did not, nevertheless, then give it up. They will, besides, remind us, that they had had Canada for a hundred years; and that they had had Guernsey and Jersey from the time that France became France; and that we, nevertheless, took CANADA and GUERNSEY and JERSEY from them, and hold these possessions to this hour. If we say that it will hurt our feelings to give up GIBRALTAR, they will doubtless remind us of MARSHAL NEY; and will not fail to observe, that they have feelings as well as we, and that those feelings were not much consulted by us in the affair of the galleries and museums, and in those votes of public money in England for building monuments to commemorate the conquest of France; though it was notorious to those who voted the money, that we entered France as the allies of the King of France and the French people, and that we had to help us above seven hundred thousand Russians, Hanoverians, Brunswickers, Gar-

Franks, Prussians, Poles, Switzers, Dutchmen, Swedes, Bavarians, Saxe-yards, Dalmatians, Croatians, Spaniards, Portuguese, and God Almighty knows who besides, paid by us out of BORROWED MONEY, which borrowed money we have come to repay! They will doubtless remind us, or, rather, make us acquainted with the fact, that they have feelings as well as we; and that as we had no regard for those feelings in 1816, so they are not bound to have any regard for ours in 1822.

Our Minister will hardly pretend that Gibraltar is at all necessary to the protection or defence of these Islands. He will hardly pretend that. If he were mad enough to do it, the French would need only to pull out a map of Europe to show him how much more necessary Gibraltar must be to the protection and defence of France! Will our Minister say that the protection of our commerce, in time of war, requires us to possess Gibraltar? "Oh! thank you for that," will France say.

"And so, you want GIBRALTAR that you may carry on your commerce along my coast with impunity, while you are making war upon me! You are frank, I must say; but your effrontery is unparalleled."

If our Minister were to let slip out (and his discretion is quite equal to it), that it would be insulting and degrading to the Spanish King and the nation, for the French to hold this maritime fortress of Cadiz; if our witty Foreign Secretary were, in the plenitude of his discretion, to make use of such an argument, would not the Frenchman exclaim, insolent, that you are, evacuate GIBRALTAR or hold your tongue?

What, then, does it amount to, Gentlemen? There are two great maritime fortresses in Spain. We have possession of the one and the French of the other. Their title to Cadiz is as good as ours to GIBRALTAR. The very same motives that induce us to keep possession of GIBRALTAR, point out to them to keep Cadiz.

GIBRALTAR is useful to us, because it enables us to *injure* both France and Spain. CADIZ will be useful to the French, because it will enable them to protect themselves, and, indeed, their more feeble neighbours the Spaniards, against the injuries inflicted by us, in consequence of our possession of GIBRALTAR. The holding of CADIZ by the French is, as long as we hold GIBRALTAR, a *measure of self-defence*. With GIBRALTAR and MALTA in our possession, and with CADIZ in the possession of the feeble Spaniards, there can be no safety for any commerce of France and Spain, during a war with us. But, if CADIZ be in possession of the French, GIBRALTAR will be rendered *comparatively harmless*; so that, as I said before, the French may stand fairly upon the ground of self-defence; and, if they consent to evacuate CADIZ and CORUNNA, upon condition that we restore GIBRALTAR to the King of Spain, and MALTA to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem,

what right shall we have to accuse them of injustice or of views of territorial aggrandizement? Some of our noisy and empty-headed politicians have been bawling a long time against French encroachment on the *independence of Spain*. Our Government did not, I suppose, encroach on the *independence* of Portugal some years ago, when one of our *Generals* was, in effect, the *Sovereign* of the country. But the very spirit of Protestant jesuitism itself (a great deal worse than Catholic jesuitism), would not be able to make it out; would be able to persuade nobody but the idiot readers of the *Old Times* newspaper, that the *independence* of Spain would be *more* encroached upon by the French possessing CADIZ, than it is by our possessing GIBRALTAR; and, if the French say; "You complain, *Messieurs les Anglois*, you complain that we attack the *independence* of Spain; your wise men of both parties have set up this cry; even your Prime Minister, who

" had a hand in making the Peace
 " of Amiens, and in breaking that
 " Peace ; and who, for two-and-
 " twenty years, cried aloud that
 " England had a right to interfere
 " in the affairs of France : even
 " this Prime Minister joined in the
 " cry against us, for having made
 " an attack on the independence
 " of Spain. Pretty modest this
 " in the Minister of a country
 " which still held in its own hands
 " one of the principal fortresses
 " of this same Spain, and which
 " had recently got into its posses-
 " sion a considerable portion of
 " the Colonies of France, Spain
 " and Holland : middling modest
 " this ; but, to put an end to all
 " disputes about the *independence*
 " of Spain, let England give up
 " the fortress in Spain which she
 " possesses, and France will keep
 " not an inch of Spanish territory
 " in her hands."

Do you not perceive, Gentle-
 men, the effect which a proposi-
 tion like this would have in the
 opinions of the rest of Europe ;
 and do you not perceive the effect

that this must have in the minds
 of the Government and the people
 of the North American States ?
 These latter want to trade in the
 Mediterranean. They know well
 how many millions of dollars they
 lose, during a year of war be-
 tween France and England, by
 our possessing the Fortress of
 GIBRALTAR ! And they know, full
 as well as other people, how to set
 a proper value upon millions of
 dollars. The American States are
 obliged to have ships of war to
 protect their trade against the
 barbarians of Africa ; and, is it
 not notorious, that these barba-
 rians would be instantly rooted
 out ; or, at least, that their pira-
 tical functions would be totally
 destroyed, were it not for our *pos-
 session of Gibraltar*.

There would be something so
 plausible ; there would be such
 manifest fairness, in such a pro-
 position coming from the French,
 that we should have the opinions
 and the voice of all mankind
 against us, and the arms against
 us, too, of the nations most to be

dreaded, if the dispute ended in
war. What, then, am I ready to
give my assent; I, an English-
man, always setting a higher
value upon the character than
upon any thing else belonging to
my country; am I ready to give
my assent to the surrender of this
Fortress of GIBRALTAR; this bright
jewel with which the last Sava-
seign, before the Brunswickers
came, adorned the Crown of Eng-
land; this Fortress so famed in
our wars; this scene of English
valour; this bridle in the mouth
of France; this key to an ocean:
am I ready to give my assent to
the surrender of this Fortress? If
I were a Minister of England I
should go mad at the thought of
having the request made to me
by France; and as to consenting
to the thing, I would rather, if I
had three score years of life yet
to cease, see England swallowed
up by the sea.

But, alas! Gentlemen, it is not
what I wish, or what you wish, or
what any of us wish: that is not
the question; the question is, What

will be done, what must be done,
if the interests of the Debt be not
reduced? This is the question,
Gentlemen, and this is a question
by which the Ministers would be
driven to distraction if the gen-
tlemen opposite were sincere.—
But, instead of placing this matter
fairly and strongly before the peo-
ple, what did they do? Set up a
howling against the French, ut-
tered great parcels of stuff worthy
of a pet-house; railed against the
Holy Allies, against the King
of Prussia, against his Ministers,
and his Congress, against the
“Three Gentlemen of Verona,”
and the nobles of Monz. Dr. CHA-
TTERMAUND; railed, in short,
against every thing and every
body, except the two blessed sets
at Whitehall and at St. Stephen’s,
and except the rascally Jews and
jobbers of Change Alley and their
vile instruments the newspa-
pers. Had Mr. BROWNE and
Sir FRANCIS BOWEN, on the first
day of the Session; had they
joined me, and said to the Minis-
ters, “Reduce the interest of the

"Debt, sell the Church and
 "Crown Lands, make an honest
 "adjustment between debtors and
 "creditors, and yet be wary, unless
 "the French desert from their
 "projects against Spain." Had
 they joined me, and said this to
 the Ministers, instead of putting
 forth a parcel of big and unmean-
 ing talk about the liberties of the
 human race; had they done this,
 with what justice would they now
 be able to come and accuse the
 Ministers of having put France in
 possession of all the strong holds
 of Spain? As it is, they have no
 right to complain of the Ministers,
 they may go to dinner about the
 country, and carry on the sweet
 intercourse of teasing and pain-
 ing each other; but the French,
 if they think it worth their while
 to pay attention to the actions of
 such men, will be only amused
 with their folly.

This fall of Cabot; this con-
 clusion to the war in so short a
 period and at such a season of
 the year, is a body-blow to our
 THING; to the baronbrongers

and to the Jews, too. It is a stab
 into the bowels of them both; and
 therefore, matter of unmixed joy
 with me. These are some men,
 and very good men, too, who have
 looked upon the cause of the
 Gories as the cause of liberty.
 That surprisingly wise gentleman,
 the City of Windsor's Common
 Sergeant, is reported to have said
 the other day at Newcastle,
 that liberty must live in Spain
 have no life, so that we may now
 set to work and cut our throats;
 for, according to him, the French
 have killed liberty. Different these
 men—different things when they
 talk about liberty. Does the reader
 recollect a sentence uttered by this
 Common Sergeant upon one of
 Mr. Carile's shopmen, about
 fifteen months ago? That is what
 he means by liberty, then. That
 shopman, Mr. Carile himself,
 his sister, Mrs. Wright, are en-
 joying, according to this gentle-
 man, the blessings of liberty,
 which blessings, however, we do
 not see in their true light, until we
 view them in conjunction with

what took place before the Government's Police Justice, Dyer, with regard to the Right Reverend Father in God, Bishop Jackson, uncle of the Earl of Roxburgh, and John Murray, a soldier of the Foot Guards. Thus, then, when we look at the sentence on Mr. Carile's shopman, (and at the speech made on the passing of that sentence, we may guess a little at what the Common-Sense-gent means by liberty. So far so good. And, now, as to the *Aspetation*: the restoration of which is looked upon as certain, and the horror of which are dwelt upon by our Protestant liberty-leaders, with a sort of melancholy hankering and delight. Curse the Inquisition, say I. I would, if I could, stick upon it all the curses contained in the 130th Psalm; but as liberty is to live in Spain or have no life; as Mr. DAVENANT is so positive upon this point, will he be so good as to show, that the Inquisition has, during the last thirty years, inflicted any punishments so severe as those inflicted

upon Mr. Carile, his wife, his sister, Mrs. Wright, the shopmen, and Joseph Swann? My real opinion is, that the Inquisition in Spain has, during the whole of the last thirty years, inflicted no punishments so severe as these. Can Mr. DAVENANT prove the contrary? If he can, let him; and if he cannot, let him hold his tongue about Spanish liberty; so, usque. There are, however, some good men, who look upon it as that despotism has now triumphed. To a certain degree, and in a certain way, and in a particular quarter, it has triumphed. But, those are very much deceived, who imagine that this triumph will be favourable to our *corrupt* *hangers*; and that is the thing which we have to look after; that is our affair. We are not, like Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, to look after the *human voice*. We are to look after ourselves; we are to see how these events will affect our *members*; that is to say, the *corrupt* *hangers*, who are so delighted with Power-of-Imprisonment Bills, and with Six-Acts.

Well, then, the reader may be assured, that these thoroughmen- gers and all their tools will be ex- ceedingly annoyed by the subju- gation of Spain, and by the occu- pation of her maritime fortresses by the French; for, stupid as the jolterheaded tyrants are, they can- not but see, that these events must lead to great consequences. Until the French resolved to march into Spain; or, rather, until their reso- lution to do it was made public; until this was not to be denied, our Ministers and their adherents af- fected not to believe that they would march. After the King of France had made his speech to the Chambers, our Ministers, who are men of a very lively hope, pre- dicted that the French would not succeed. That singularly wise personage, the stern path of duty man, who was made a Knight of the Garter along with Castlere- naves, very confidently predicted that the French would fail; that, after a long protracted warfare, they would be compelled to retreat into France; and that bright

youth, Mr. HOLME SUMNER, ob- served, that Charles V. had truly said, that if you invaded Spain with a small army, you were de- feated; if with a large army, you were starved. Profound states- man! How he has profited from reading history.

[These instances alone would be sufficient to prove that the Minis- ters, that their hangers on, and that the jolterheaded, bare, and phreasant tyrants all over the coun- try, wished the French to experi- ence a great deal of trouble and of loss. They wished the Spanish Constitution to be destroyed, and all schemes of liberty in that country to be smothered and blasted. But, they did not wish that the French should profit from their enterprise. They hoped that it would be a long and tiresome and sanguinary affair, during which France would exhaust herself in a good deal, and would throw great disgrace upon herself as well as upon the Spaniards; and that at last, the affair would end with the destruction of liberty in Spain.]

but at the same time, without having the French any thing to boast of. And they hoped, at the same time, that they might be called in as mediators; and that thus they should keep disguised from the world, their utter inability to go to war. These hopes are now blasted. GATTON and OLD BANTON have now got a stab; and if nobody else can see how this is, I can.

We have now before us one of the great effects of the Pitt System of Government; that is to say, a system of anticipations; a system of borrowing; a system of making loans to the Government by the means of Debt due to them from the Government. This system was begun by the Dutch King at the revolution. This system, as Mr. PARNER so well described it, "is wrought in the beginning, and continues at the end," a system of paper-money, if pushed to the extent that our has been, or to any thing like that extent, must produce one of two things, a revolution in the

Government, or a complete and total degradation of the nation, which must become the sport of all its neighbours; because, after it is got to the end of its powers of borrowing, it *never can again go to war*, without something very nearly amounting to a revolution in the Government.

I have long foreseen, and as long foretold, that such would be the ultimate effect of our Debt. The effect is become visible to all eyes long before I thought it would. When the Meeting took place in Kent, only just about fifteen months ago, which of us could have thought, that, in only fifteen months from that day, the French nation, whom we so recently boasted of having conquered, would be in possession of CAPEZ, with a resolution to keep it (as is said to be the case), as long as we keep possession of GIBRALTAR? One of my arguments in support of the proposition, when I had the honour to submit to the Meeting at Maidstone, was this, that without a

reduction of the interest of the Debt, this country never could go to war again. The words which I addressed to you upon that occasion; that is to say, in defence of our Petition, which had been so rudely attacked, in the House of Commons by JOHN SAMPSON, Mr. CALCRAFT, and KNATCHBULL, the brother of Captain CHARLES KNATCHBULL, English Consul at Havre, of whose works in prison in London we read of the other day; these words, or at least, a small part of them, I cannot refrain from repeating here. You will observe, that the passage I am about to quote, was written in the month of June of last year; that is to say, full two months, if not three months before the assembling of the Congress at Verona; and, of course, long before I could have the smallest idea that the French intended to invade Spain. When we consider these things, the passage that I am about to cite, must appear, to some persons, really wonderful. There is, however, nothing won-

derful in the matter. There required but a very ordinary stock of understanding to foresee, that, situated as we were, the French nation would not long remain without making some attempt to inflict vengeance on us for the transactions of 1815. There required very little sagacity to discover, that something like that which has now taken place would inevitably take place in a short time. I had long been deeply impressed with the opinion, and the honour which I had in meeting you at Madeira, afforded me an opportunity of amply expressing it. It is useful to the public, as well as just to oneself, to recur to opinions, which events have so fully verified; and I quote the following passage with singular pleasure; because it will recal to the minds of all my readers your sensible and manly conduct upon the memorable occasion referred to.

"This leads us to another and
"larger and more terrific view of
"the consequences of this all-cor-

"rupting, all-corroding, all-crip-
 "pling, and all-ruining Debt.
 "Well have the Petitions of the
 "Hundred of Tapping in Norfolk
 "called it a millstone, dragging
 "down the British nation; for, it
 "is dragging us down, and down
 "we are going at a greater rate
 "than nation ever yet fell! Are
 "we secure from the hostility of
 "our neighbours? Yet it may now
 "be said of England, that she
 "dares not think of war; that she
 "dare not even to be providing
 "against it, while her enemies
 "are growing to gigantic strength.
 "Will any one say that additional
 "taxes can be laid on to the
 "amount of even one million a-
 "year; much less to the amount
 "of thirty or forty millions a-year,
 "which a war would require. A
 "war with America and France
 "would see these islands invaded
 "in two months, without forty
 "millions a-year expenditure, in
 "addition to the present. And
 "is there any man mad enough
 "to suppose that those forty mil-
 "lions could be raised in taxes in
 "addition to the present taxes,
 "and with present prices? Would
 "the Government borrow again?
 "Would it make another string of
 "loans? Would it get those loans
 "in gold? Would it come back
 "again to the paper and to

"high prices? Would they make
 "another Debt of eight hundred
 "millions? And would they, at
 "the conclusion of such war,
 "again return to cash-payments,
 "pass another Peel's Bill, and
 "raise a hundred and thirty mil-
 "lions a-year in gold, with wheat
 "at four or five shillings a bushel?
 "Barely to ask these questions
 "seriously would savour of a
 "cracked brain; and, yet, there
 "are men to talk, like Mr. JOHN
 "SMITH, of paying the interest of
 "this Debt in gold to the full
 "amount, and not to admit the
 "possibility of ceasing to pay;
 "nay, and to deem it disgraceful
 "in you, that you do not concur in
 "the frantic doctrine. One of the
 "best means of obviating war, is
 "to take care to be in a state that
 "makes you not fear it. To see
 "you ready for war is always the
 "surest means of producing tem-
 "per, prudence and patience in
 "the adversary. Thus prepared;
 "standing in an attitude like this,
 "you come to every negotiation
 "of every sort, with advantages
 "far superior to all those with
 "which you can be furnished by
 "craft and by eloquence. Your
 "adversary looks at his man; and
 "having measured him from head
 "to foot, he acts accordingly. No
 "nation fears England at the

" present moment ; and in every
 " contest that we have had ; in
 " every dispute about navigation
 " and commerce, this Debt has
 " been a millstone about our
 " necks ; a millstone visible to
 " all the world ; a tremendous
 " weight in the scale in favour of
 " every one that has had a dispute
 " with us of any description. This
 " has been the cause of the pre-
 " sent project for abrogating, in
 " part, at least, those navigation
 " laws ; that system of maritime
 " management and jurisdiction
 " which first gave us the prepon-
 " derance against France. The
 " bills at this moment in the
 " House of Lords, and which are
 " about to pass into laws, are the
 " result of vain attempts to obtain
 " profitable commerce by nego-
 " tiation. We want the money
 " derivable from commerce ; but
 " that very want deprives us of
 " the power of getting the com-
 " merce. Often has it been asked
 " why we have no commercial
 " treaty with France ; why the
 " Dutch overreach us ; why the
 " Americans take possession of
 " the Gulf of Mexico ; and actually
 " take a step upon the West In-
 " dia Islands, while our Govern-
 " ment seems stricken dumb ? The
 " answer is found in **THE DEBT**.
 " It is written in a figure of eight

" and eight ciphers and posted
 " up in 'Change Alley, and there
 " it tells the King of England :
" DARE NEVER TO TALK
" OF WAR AGAIN AS LONG
" AS I AM IN EXISTENCE !

" It is unpleasant, it is painful
 " in the extreme, to have to per-
 " form the duty of foreboding the
 " downfall of one's own country ;
 " and if painful to the rest of man-
 " kind, what must it be to an
 " Englishman, who always feels
 " for his country, even when he
 " does not feel for himself ? Yet,
 " this is a duty to be performed,
 " and is imperious in proportion
 " to the mind's conviction of the
 " fact. My wishes can avail no-
 " thing ; but my sincere opinion
 " is, that if your prayer be not
 " heard ; if the interest of this
 " Debt be not reduced, *this nation*
 " *is doomed to become one of the*
 " *most contemptible upon the face*
 " *of the earth*. The American
 " statesmen, I know, regard our
 " Debt as their best security.
 " They rejoice at its existence
 " and at the obstinacy of our Go-
 " vernment in adhering to the
 " system they have so long pur-
 " sued. In France, I question
 " not, the same sentiments pre-
 " vail. Both those nations disen-
 " tangled themselves from their
 " Debts. They both took care to

"get rid of the crippling load;
 "and while we are adhering to
 "the enfeebling curse, they are
 "growing strong by the migration
 "to their shores of the capital,
 "the industry and the genius of
 "Englishmen."

One would almost think, that I
 ha received intimation before
 hand, from some supernatural
 agent, of all that was going to
 happen during the next sixteen
 months. Our friend Lord DARN-
 LEY, would not hear of any reduc-
 tion of the interest of the Debt.
 He was *too honest* a man, he said.
 Wise COKE of Norfolk, and no less
 wise SUFFIELD, whose name is
 EDWARD HARBOARD, and whose
 father-in-law left him five hundred
 pounds to purchase a seat in Par-
 liament. These men abused me
 as if I had been a thief, and the
 latter compared me to *Oliver* or
Edwards, and was followed in his
 example by blackguard Parson
Smythies of Hereford; because I
 had proposed a reduction of the
 interest of the Debt. Yet, without
 such reduction, GIBRALTAR *must*
go! That is my real opinion; and
 the French Government is quite
 convinced that our Government
 dares not attempt such reduction.
 This is my own opinion, too; for,
 Daddy COKE and SUFFIELD,
 and the rest of that crew, would

now seem to be begging for eter-
 nal execration, if they were to
 demand that which they have
 called me a villain and a spy for
 recommending. Thus the thing
 is most gloriously beset: it has
 the Jews on one side of it, and it
 has the French on the other.
 Here stand we Radicals looking
 on: we see them tearing and pul-
 ling at the thing, and we heartily
 wish them success.

Our aristocracy and their un-
 derstrappers, our parsons, and the
 whole tribe of tax-eaters; these
 are continually talking to us about
 the horrors of the French revolu-
 tion. They never say a word to
 us about the causes of it. The
 French were, under the old Go-
 vernment, most cruelly oppressed
 by the aristocracy; and to this
 oppression we ought to ascribe the
 far greater part of the horrors of
 the revolution; but, great as these
 oppressions were, France might
 have remained for centuries with-
 out a revolution, if it had not been
 for the effects of the funding sys-
 tem; a system quite infernal in
 itself; but at last, like most other
 evils, producing its own cure. I
 read several years ago, a passage,
 in *Young's Travels in France*,
 which attracted my attention at
 the first reading, and which I have
 often thought of since. It appears

to have been written in the year 1791, just after the French revolution had taken place. I insert it here, as worthy of the best attention of every one of my readers; and an additional motive is, to do an act of justice to the memory of Mr. YOUNG.

"It appears, from the preceding accounts (of the taxation), that France, under the old government, pursued the ruinous system of mortgaging its revenues, as regularly as any other country, whose greater freedom might be supposed to offer more temptations to the practice. This system, however, almost unaided by any other cause, has overturned that government, by means of the most extraordinary revolution upon record. If Louis XIV. amidst the splendour of his reign and career of his conquests, could possibly have foreseen that the second sovereign in descent from him would be led captive by his subjects, on account of the debts he was then contracting, he would either have rejected with horror the system he adopted, or have manifested the most entire want of those feelings which ought to dwell in the breast of a great and ambitious monarch. But, after this memorable example

to other countries, it remains a subject of infinite curiosity, to see how far the *infatuated and blind spirit of funding will now be pursued*. Every hour, after the great event in France, will make it *more and more critical*, and will inevitably involve in its train new revolutions, perhaps of a complexion *more dangerous to established families, than any thing we have seen in France*.— If peace is preserved in that kingdom, the debt will extinguish itself, being in a great proportion annuities for lives; but were not this the case, and should new wars add to the national burthens, the people, almost emancipated as they have been from taxation, will be brought back to it with great difficulty; and other assemblies, feeling their power better established, will *not pay the same attention to the public creditors*, which the present has done; and the event might be similar to what will happen in England. No government will ever think of committing a deliberate act of bankruptcy; but when taxes are pushed to such a height that the people will no longer pay them, they are ripe for sedition; presently feel their own power;—and the event may

"be easily conjectured. What is the dilemma which follows? That the funding system, or the other the wars which occasion it, are so fatal and pestilential, that, at all events, they ought to be avoided; but that, if, unhappily, they cannot, they should be supported by annual taxes (never by loans), which imply a war of defence at home, a transmutation of all exterior dominions, and the absolute annihilation of that commercial system of policy, on which colonies and debts have been so safely erected."

These were wise remarks put upon paper, or uttered from human lips. Louis the Fourteenth, beset upon his counsel, the French called him their *Grand Monarque*. He had many great enterprises under him; he built triumphal arches, and columns to commemorate his victories; but he borrowed the money to pay for all this; just as our people borrowed the money, just as our good old king and his son and the parliament, borrowed the money to pay for the glories that were won by our fleets and armies; and especially for the glories won on the Canadian Lakes and on the Serpentine River. Louis the Fourteenth, like our late grand

monarch, left a debt behind him! And he left for his successors to pay; and as Mr. Young observed, the **SECOND** of those successors was led captive by his subjects on account of the debts that Louis the Fourteenth contracted.

Divers were the shufflings in France, in order to get out of this affair of the **DEBT**; divers schemes, project upon project; but, after all, the *national property*, as it was called, was the thing resorted to; and, even that was not sufficient. An army? A standing army? We have it; but, had not Louis the Sixteenth a "thundering standing army in time of peace?" Was there any want of force in France? In short, all was subject to subjection; and yet, a *debt*, a *national debt*, and the business of the strong and long-established republic. Paper-money is strength in the beginning and weakness in the end. The French old Government was, at last, despised by the people even more than it was hated; and, when it came to be despised, it soon fell.

We, in this country, began the ruinous trade of borrowing soon after it was begun in France. But, we proceeded in it more slowly. The French Government

get to the utmost stretch of his
 other thirty-six years ago, our
 Government has just now got to
 the utmost stretch of its stretch;
 and the result will be much
 about the same, unless we resort
 to a reduction of the interest of
 the Debt.

Mr. ROBINSON, at a Dinner at
 Birmingham, and Mr. GANNETT
 at a late City Dinner, have talked
 of our great prosperity, and of
 the happy effects of peace. The
 French Government knows well
 how we stand. We cannot de-
 ceive it, though we may deceive
 one another. It knows well the
 effects of national debts; and it
 must rejoice to hear Daddy Coke
 and Daddy Sniffled, *becal* me for
 proposing a reduction of the in-
 terest of ours. To suppose, that
 the French will not endeavour to
 recover what they lost by the alli-
 ance of England, is to suppose
 them to be lost to all sense of in-
 terest, as well as of honour. And,
 indeed, besides the point of *Gibrah-*
tar, who can believe, that the
 French nation, regenerated, re-
 invigorated, and full of warlike
 means, will much longer submit
 to the insult offered it in our pos-
 session of the islands of *Guernsey*
 and *Jersey*? These islands almost
 touch the French land. The only
 use of them is to make France look

little, and the eyes of Englishmen
 and of the world on a very good
 use, and that I would still have
 them put to trial; it is to be be-
 lieved, that, if we cannot keep the
 French from occupying *Guernsey*
 and *Jersey*, we shall be able
 to keep them from taking back
Guernsey and *Jersey*. If we
 we might, in spite of *formidable*;
 but, without fear, does any man
 in his senses believe, that this can
 be done for another five or six
 years? And, if the interest of the
 Debt be not reduced, we cannot go
 to war, and, such reduction is not
 more more than *Radical*
Reform, and what its enemies call
 REVOLUTION.

The French, once in quiet pos-
 session of Spain, will beyond all
 doubt, endeavour to bring back
 subjection to the *South American*
Colonies. And, if she do this,
 will she not take part of them to
 herself? Can we prevent this?
 By war we might; but, is it not
 madness to suppose, that we could
 do it without war? Or, is there
 yet a man left to believe, that we
 can stop the march of the French
 by noisy speeches and para-
 graphs? The very same reasons
 which rendered our prayers of no
 avail in the case of Spain, would
 render them of no avail in the case
 of her colonies; and, with what

face are we, who have grabbed Malta, the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon, the Mauritius, Pondicherry, and other little bits; with what face are we, who grabbed all these, during our wars against Jacobins, Demers, and for the Liberties, and independence of Europe; with what face are we to object to the French getting a slice of South America as a reward for their putting down Jacobins in Spain?

Aye; but we have just sent out an envoy and consuls to the Republic of Mexico! Have we? We shall do well, then, to believe, to believe, to believe as soon as possible, unless we mean to fight for it! What! Refuse to acknowledge the new Republic for five years; and, then, as soon as we see that France is about to make Spain strong, acknowledge that same Republic! This is a pretty thing indeed! It will be found, I fancy, that it is too late to get about this *quakerizing* work! The time to do it was in 1813, when I recommended it to be done, in my Petition to the Prince Regent, sent from Long Island. Then was the time; but then our pretty gentlemen were getting bills passed to punish British subjects, if they assisted the South Americans! With what face, then, are we to

acknowledge these new States? The French will see that we never thought of doing it, till we saw, that they would get possession of Cadiz; and they will know what conclusion to draw from that fact.

But, Gentlemen, what is the use of your sending such a costly, unless we have fleets and armies ready to send it? The French will pay no more attention to our agents sent to the American Congress than they paid to those with me; sent and had residing at the court of the King of the Gorties of Spain. Who is the envoy to Mexico? I have forgotten; but I am full of expectation, that he will be who he may; he will be laughed at by some French general, as our delightful envoy in Spain has been. Kind Sir William A'Court (oh! the fine old Norman name) has been always ready with his indignation. What a force! What a contemptible thing! Oh, no; the French wanted no mediators of any nation, and especially of the English nation; and now, they come to this: Are we ready for wars, rather than suffer the French to oppress Mexico or Peru in America? That is the question. No; they must have Mexico and Peru too, or give one of them to

Basin, or a great Island in France, that they must do just what they like; nor go to war, nor cannot without blowing up the debt, which we cannot blow up without blowing up the church establishment and the boroughs! Oh, no! we shall stir stir! Our Government will be as hostile in private for peace, as it formerly was in present situation. The nations all know our state well. They see, that what we have got and grabbed, we have bought with the money that we have borrowed; and they see, that we must now pay back this money, three for one, or blow up our whole THING! for, as I have often said, I do not know what name to call it by. The French know our state well: they describe it in their public papers: they say we cannot stir: and, can any one believe, that they, who are freed from Debt, who are rich and really prosperous, will not take advantage of this our state of weakness? After having, by means of borrowed money, got together bayonets and of all nations to "conquer France," we, now that we have the money to pay, are as helpless as babies! The worth of paper-money is overvalued. And, will the French let slip this opportunity of regaining that which we, by means of troops hired by

The short, and long of the matter
 is this: we have been purchasing
CONQUESTS and GLORIES,
 with paper-money; and, being
 unable to pay for them, we shall,
 in due course of proceeding, **BE**
OBLIGED TO GIVE THEM
UP; and, as is usually the case
 under circumstances of a similar
 nature, we shall, in the end, be
 compelled to give up a great deal
 more than we purchased with our
 paper-money.

By *resolute measures* we might save ourselves; but, ad! those in-
clude a *great reduction of the inter-
est of the National Debt*, and
as *Baldwin Coke*, *Suffield*, *and*
Wodehouse and *Gaffer Goddall*
will not hear a word of such re-
duction; on any account whatever;
as *Lord Darnley* will not hear of
it; as *Mr. Calcraft* will make us
“*ride off*,” if we mention it; as
Knatchbull, brother of *Charles*,
Esquire, our gracious sovereign’s
Consul at Nantes, calls it *vaguerie*
to propose such reduction; as
this is the case, *we can have no*
reduction; and, most, of course,
surrender our “*glories*,” though,
in reward to one single man, they
have cost us *seven hundred thousand*
pounds already! “*Adieu*! But,
let us take comfort; for, we shall,
in spite of the *Duc d’Angoulême*,

have "*Waterloo Bridge*" and "*Wellington Boots!*"

Thus, Gentlemen, have I endeavoured to describe *some* of the consequences of that Debt, for a reduction of which we prayed, in the month of June of last year. If that prayer had been *graciously received by the Parliament*, instead of being abused and made a pretext for calumnies on me, *the French never would have marched into Spain*; or, if they had, Cadiz would not have fallen into their hands. But, when the French Government saw that the *Parliament dared not free the nation from the load that was weighing it to the earth*, they knew that *we could not go to war*; and, if they had doubted before, they could have no doubt upon the subject, when they heard the *poor, puling language of our Envoy at Verona and of our Secretary of State*. Even at a later period, the proceedings in *Norfolk, in Herefordshire and in Surrey*, and the conduct of *Coke, Parson Smythies, Ellenborough, Suffield, and others*, and *the language of our infamous newspapers*, must have had their effect; must have confirmed the French Government in their opinion of our inability to go to war. For whole

weeks the newspapers of London contained the most outrageous abuse of a proposition to lessen the interest of the Debt. The French Government *wanted no more than this*. "Keep you your Debt," said they, "and we will get and keep *Cadiz and Corunna*." By this time there cannot be a single politician in France unacquainted with our state. Every man of them must now see, that our Government *no more dares to talk of war* than it dares to make a *Radical Reform*. Such facts can never be *secret long*. There can be no war; no, though the French were to attack the *Isle of Wight*; there can be no war without a *blowing up of the Debt*; and the Debt cannot be touched without first *touching the church and putting down the boroughs*. There cannot be another "*Bank Restriction Bill*," and another game like the last. A nation plays such a game *but once*.

Curious affair, Gentlemen! The *THING'S* people *borrowed hundreds of millions of pounds* in order to hire and pay bayonet men to prevent the example of the subjects of the Bourbons from working injury to the *THING*; and, now, those Bourbons are insulting and kicking the *THING*, merely because the *THING* owes

those hundreds of millions of pounds.

With this I, for the present, leave the occupation of Cadiz and Corunna, and, indeed of Spain, by the French, to be contemplated on by Lord Darnley, his son, Knatchbull, Calcraft, John Smith, Daddy Coke, Suffield, Parson Smythies, wise Wodehouse, and Gaffer Gooch. But, mind, Gentlemen, *they will have no reduction of interest of Debt*: mind that: that they are to stand to.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your Friend and

Most obedient Servant,

W^m. COBBETT.

ANNA BRODIE'S FALL.

ANNA, "notwithstanding her *coverture*," is getting blows pretty nearly, in her way, equal to those which the **THING** is now receiving from its friends, the Bourbons. When it was announced, that the **MORNING CHRONICLE** had passed into the hands of its present proprietor, I at once predicted, that

the **OLD TIMES** could not stand long; for, that it would now speedily lose all the advantage which it had derived from that priority of intelligence which it owed solely to the length of its purse. This opinion of mine has not had to wait long for proof of its truth. The *fate of Cadiz* was a subject of great interest with the public, and with no one more than with me.

I was, therefore, for several days, eager (contrary to my usual state) to see the morning papers, in order to know, at as early a moment as possible, what was going on at Cadiz. This led me to make a very exact estimate of the relative value, in this respect, of the two papers in question. The **CHRONICLE** of second October contained the important correspondence between the *Duc d'Angouleme* and the *King of Spain*; and this same correspondence, copied from the **Chronicle**, word for word, was in the **OLD TIMES** of the next day.—The **CHRONICLE** of the fourth of October gave us the *plan of Cadiz* and its environs, a most useful

thing at such a time. This plan decided the opinions of all who saw it, as to the fate of the fortress. It is not necessary to say, that the *Old Times* contained no such thing. Its proprietors and editors and people have not the judgment necessary to the selection of such things. But, on this same fourth of October, the *CHRONICLE* gave us the *Notes from the Spanish Ministry*, a document of great importance, which the *Old Times* (from shame, I suppose) never published at all. On the sixth of October, we had in the *CHRONICLE*, Paris news of the fourth, giving an account of the election of the Pope, and giving us also the official report of Admiral Doreux, and of the attack and other important proceedings at Cadiz. All this was very faithfully copied into the *Old Times* of the next day. The same may be said of the intelligence of the surrender of Lima. — On the eighth of October, the *CHRONICLE* gave us the Duc d'Angouleme's telegraphic despatch of the twenty-

ninth of September. The *Old Times*, by getting an early printed *Chronicle*, put this important despatch into a small part of its papers of the eighth, and in the whole of its papers of the next day. But, the next day is not always time enough to give to this "leading journal," as it used to call itself, for, on the eleventh of October, the *CHRONICLE* (published early in the morning,) gave us Paris news of the tenth; that is to say, in less than twenty-four hours after it issued from the press in Paris. This news was of the most important character: it informed us of the voting of the Cortes, of the dissolution of that body, of the attack on Cadiz, of the arrival of the ambassadors at Port St. Mary, and of the fall of the French Junta. This was on Saturday last. It could not have been in the *Old Times* until Monday; and so, it was not in at all, the news of the surrender of Cadiz having arrived on the Sunday. But the Saturday's news was of vast importance, seeing that it so plainly

told us that the surrender must
speedily take place. Nor, does
the case appear to be different as
to domestic intelligence. God
knows, I think little of *Whig Dis-*
patches; but, many persons do; and
they serve even me to laugh at,
and to remark on, vigorously some-
times. That of *Glasgow* occupied
nine columns in the *Chronicle*,
and the report must have been
brought across the four hundred
and five miles. In the *Old Times*,
the next day, the *Old Times* made
out and published, from the *Chro-*
nicle, a report of about a quarter
of a column. And, as to the
Whig Dinner at Chester, the re-
port, relative to which I must also
have been brought up to the
Chronicle, appears, and which oc-
cupied several columns, not a word
of it ever appeared in *Old Mother*.
Brodie found fault to last. *Forti-*
ligonas, and especially *early intel-*
ligence, in what we warrant a

morning newspaper. *Earliness*, is
a relative quality; he who gets
up at noon is an early riser com-
pared with him who lays about
till sunset; and the *Old Times*
may still be an early paper; for
there may be papers two days
behind the *Chronicle*. The
natural consequence of what I have
been observing upon, is, the rapid
decline of *Walker's* paper, and
the equally rapid rise of its rival;
and, I shall be much deceived, if,
at the meeting of Parliament, the
Old Times do not fall down, as it
is a fit

THE
AMERICAN TREES

These stand a poor chance of
notice when subjects, like those
treated of in this Register, pre-
sent themselves. I shall, how-
ever, publish the notification here

MARKETS.

**Average Prices of CORN through-
out ENGLAND, for the week end-
ing 4th October.**

	Per Quarter.
Wheat	48 4
Rye	27 4
Barley	29 0
Oats	20 11
Beans	32 10
Peas	30 10

Corn Exchange, Mark Lane.

**Quantities and Prices of British
Corn, &c. sold and delivered in
this Market, during the week ended
Saturday, 4th October.**

Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.
Wheat 7,331 for 10,000 19 4	Average, 49 4		
Barley 3,036 4,078 1 6	26 10		
Oats 12,193 13,715 13 11	22 6		
Rye 33 34 10 6	33 0		
Beans 1,334 2,276 11 9	34 1		
Peas 1,536 2,402 15 2	31 3		

**Quarters of English Grain, &c.
arrived Coastwise, from Oct. 6
to Oct. 11, inclusive.**

Wheat... 5,338	Pease... 2,150
Barley... 3,297	Tares... 178
Malt... 978	Linseed... —
Oats... 4,661	Rape... 444
Rye... 16	Brank... —
Beans... 1,449	Mustard... 231

**Various Seeds 285; and Hemp
35 qrs.—Flour 8,096 sacks.**

From Ireland.—Oats 4,355 qrs.

**Foreign. — Linseed 65; and
Hemp 1,150 qrs.—Flour 101 bar-
rels.**

**Friday, Oct. 10.—The supply of
Grain is this week only moderate.
Prime dry samples of Wheat meet
buyers on rather better terms than
Monday, but other qualities have
no improvement. Barley of good
quality remains as last quoted, but
damp parcels are cheaper. Beans
and Peas are unaltered. Good
sweet Oats sell freely at last quo-
tations, but other kinds go off
slowly.**

**Monday, Oct. 12.—The arrivals
of all descriptions of Grain last
week were only moderate, and this
morning the quantities fresh up
are by no means considerable.
Prime dry samples of Wheat, both
Old and New, obtain 2s. per quar-
ter more than this day se'nnight,
but other qualities do not partake
of this improvement.**

**Barley for malting obtains 1s. to
2s. advance on the terms of this
day se'nnight, but other qualities
are not any dearer. Beans, both
Old and New, are advanced 1s.
to 2s. per qr., and Grey Peas have
obtained 1s. to 2s. per qr. more
than this day week. There has
been a lively trade for good Oats
this morning, and last week's prices
are fully maintained for this arti-
cle, but many parcels of ordinary
Old Oats remain on hand nearly
unsaleable. Flour is unaltered.**

COUNTRY CORN MARKETS.

By the QUARTER, excepting where otherwise named; from Wednesday to Saturday last, inclusive.

The Scotch Markets are the Returns of the Week before.

WHEAT.	s. d.	s. d.
Uxbridge, per load	97. 0s.	167. 10s.
Aylesbury, ditto	101. 0s.	131. 0s.
Newbury	42. 0 —	62. 0
Reading	38. 0 —	56. 0
Henley to ...	40. 0 —	52. 0
Banbury	42. 0 —	56. 0
Devizes	42. 0 —	64. 0
Warminster	42. 0 —	64. 0
Sherborne	0. 0 —	0. 0
Dorchester, per load ...	111. 0s.	167. 0s.
Exeter, per bushel	6. 6 —	7. 6
Lewes	44. 0 —	58. 0
Guildford, per load	101. 0s.	177. 0s.
Winchester, ditto	01. 0s.	01. 0s.
Basingstoke	48. 0 —	62. 0
Chelmsford, per load ...	97. 0s.	167. 0s.
Yarmouth	42. 0 —	48. 0
Birmingham	0. 0 —	0. 0
Lynn	36. 0 —	49. 0
Horncastle	38. 0 —	46. 0
Stamford	35. 0 —	52. 0
Northampton	40. 0 —	52. 0
Truro, 24 galls. to a bush.	17. 0 —	0. 0
Swansea, per bushel ...	7. 0 —	0. 0
Nottingham	0. 0 —	0. 0
Derby, 34 quarts to bush.	46. 0 —	55. 0
Newcastle	32. 0 —	56. 0
Dalkeith, per boll * ...	20. 0 —	32. 0
Haddington, ditto * ...	25. 0 —	33. 0

* The Scotch boll is 3 per cent more than 4 bushels.

Liverpool, Oct. 7.—Since Tuesday last the demand for Wheats has been gradually improving, and at Saturday's market an advance of 2d. to 3d. per bushel was obtained on sales made to a tolerable fair extent, so that the average prices may be now considered at 7s. 3d. to 8s. 9d. per 70 lbs. at this day's (Tuesday) market. In other articles of the trade there has been so little done as to leave prices nominally the same as last advised.

Imported into Liverpool from the 30th September to the 6th October, 1823, inclusive:—Wheat

1306; Oats 556; Barley 161; Malt 1658; and Beans 200 qrs. Oatmeal 247 packs per 240 lbs. Flour 673 sacks, and 420 barrels.

Norwich, Oct. 11.—There was a greater show of business here to-day than for some time past; good dry samples, particularly of Old Wheat, were in demand at 52s. to 54s. per qr.; New, 44s. to 46s. Barley is also higher, say 26s. to 27s.; Oats, 22s. to 25s.; Grey Peas, 26s. per quarter. Tares are much in request, at from 8s. to 10s. per bushel.

Bristol, Oct. 11.—The Corn business at this place is dull, and the sales limited, at about the following prices.—Best Wheat from 7s. to 7s. 6d.; inferior ditto, 4s. 6d. to 6s. 3d.; Barley, 2s. 6d. to 3s. 4d.; Beans, 3s. to 5s.; Oats, 2s. to 3s.; and Malt 4s. 3d. to 6s. 6d. per bushel. Flour, Seconds, 26s. to 48s. per bag.

Birmingham, Oct. 9.—During the last fortnight Old Grain, generally, has continued to increase in value, and also fine dry New, in consequence of a short supply of these descriptions. Picked samples of Old Wheat are now worth 7s. per 60 lbs., and those of New 6s. 6d.; inferior and damp samples are scarcely saleable. Barley of both malting and grinding qualities are in good demand at 25s. to 30s. per quarter; Oats, 22s. to 28s.; and Beans, 13s. 6d. to 14s. 6d. per ten scores. Peas are beginning to be inquired for at about 40s. to 44s. per quarter; Winter Tares are selling at 54s. to 60s.; and Malt 52s. to 56s. Old Fine Flour, at 45s. per sack; Old Seconds, 40s.; New fine, 40s.; and New Seconds, 37s., and a tolerably free sale.

Ipswich, Oct. 11.—Our market to-day was well supplied with Barley, but not much Wheat, and no Beans. Prices as follow:—Old Wheat, 50s. to 60s.; New ditto,

40s. to 50s.; Barley, 22s. to 27s.; Peas, 26s.; and Oats, 20s. to 24s. per quarter.

Wisbech, Oct. 11.—We had but little doing in the Wheat trade, prices much the same as last week. Mustard-seed a trifle higher for best quality; Rape-seed without alteration; and Oats rather brisker demand, but not higher.

Boston, Oct. 8.—We have had a plentiful supply of Wheat at this day's market, particularly the New, and sold as follows:—Wheat, 42s. to 49s.; Oats, 18s. to 22s.; Beans, 33s. to 36s.; and Barley 22s. to 28s. per quarter.

Wakefield, Oct. 10.—The arrivals of Wheat this week are rather large, but of other descriptions of Grain the supply is small. Old Wheat and fine New were in request, and fully supported last week's prices; but inferior sorts of New were difficult of sale, and rather lower. No alteration to note in Barley or Oats. Shelling being scarce, was taken off at an advance of 6d. to 1s. per load. Malt very dull sale, and lower. Rapeseed was much in request, at the prices of last week.

Mallon, Oct. 11.—Our market continues without any variation in the prices of Grain since last week. —Wheat, Old, 54s. to 56s.; New ditto, 48s. to 50s. per quarter, five stone per bushel. Barley, 26s. to 28s. per quarter. Oats, 10d. to 10½d. per stone.

SMITHFIELD, Monday, Oct. 13.

Per Stone of 8 pounds (alive).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef.....	2	10	to	3 6
Mutton.....	3	2	—	3 10
Veal.....	3	8	—	4 10
Pork.....	4	6	—	5 0
Lamb	0	0	—	0 0

Beasts ... 3,126 | Sheep ... 21,580
Calves 190 | Pigs 260

NEWGATE (same day).

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef.....	2	4	to	3 0
Mutton.....	3	2	—	3 2
Veal.....	3	8	—	4 4
Pork.....	3	4	—	5 4
Lamb	0	0	—	0 0

LEADENHALL (same day).

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef.....	1	10	to	3 0
Mutton.....	2	8	—	3 2
Veal.....	3	0	—	4 0
Pork.....	2	8	—	4 8
Lamb	0	0	—	0 0

BACON.

The market has been very heavy since our last, and prices are a little lower. But the manufacturers have discovered (as usual) that the potatoe crops are short; and this, in the absence of a better, will, by-and-by, be a ground for a new speculation.—On board, 32s.—Landed, New, 41s. to 43s.; Old, 36s.

BUTTER.

About this time last year, an individual purchased more than 100,000l. worth of Butter, on speculation; and a great many others purchased smaller quantities, induced by his example. It was found, however, that the stock was

too heavy and prices too high, to admit of any advance; and the speculation failed. And yet, with prices quite as high, and the stock greatly surpassing that of last year, there have now been persons desperate enough to enter into extensive engagements. If the consequences fell upon themselves alone, they might be left to bear them: but it is not so: a numerous class of industrious men are injured by their proceedings. In other branches of trade the merchants employ the brokers; but in this trade the brokers employ the merchants: nay, in some instances, they set them going, and keep them going, as long as they find them useful, and then suffer them to fall back into their original insignificance. These brokers are clever fellows, and are every way qualified for making use of such instruments. It is not an uncommon thing to hear them boast of their own gains, and at the same time laugh at the losses of the merchants. Under such circumstances, it is no wonder that prices rise one day and fall the next without any apparent cause: and we shall not be surprised, even now, though every thing seems against it, if an advance take place before the end of the present month. —At the present prices every thing loses money to the importers; and upon all that is not fresh (and there is a great deal that is not), there is a loss of full 7 per cent. —On

board, Carlow, 78s. to 80s. — Waterford, 74s. to 76s. — Dublin, 75s. — Cork, or Limerick, 72s. to 73s. — Landed: Carlow, 80s. to 82s. — Belfast, 78s. to 80s. — Dublin, 77s. to 78s. — Waterford, 75s. to 77s. — Cork, or Limerick, 74s. to 75s. — Dutch, 88s. to 90s. — Other foreign, about equal in quality to Waterford or Limerick, 68s. to 70s.; and of this there is a great abundance.

CHEESE.

There is still a brisk demand for every thing good. — Old Cheshire (Gru), 78s. to 82s.; good, 70s. to 76s.; new, 58s. to 64s. — New Derby, 56s. to 64s. — Double Gloucester, 58s. to 64s.; Single, 48s. to 60s.

POTATOES.

SPITALFIELDS. — per Ton.

Ware	£2 9 to £3 15
Middlings	1 10 — 1 15
Chats	1 10 — 0 0
Common Red	0 0 — 0 0
Onions	0s. 0d. — 0s. 0d. per bush.

BOROUGH. — per Ton.

Ware	£2 10 to £3 10
Middlings	1 10 — 2 0
Chats	1 10 — 0 0
Common Red	0 0 — 0 0
Onions	0s. 0d. — 0s. 0d. per bush.

HAY and STRAW, per Load.*Smithfield.*—Hay... 84s. to 97s.

Straw... 40s. to 46s.

Clover... 90s. to 105s.

St. James's.—Hay... 75s. to 110s.

Straw... 42s. to 54s.

Clover 100s. to 120s.

Whitechapel.—Hay... 80s. to 110s.

Straw... 40s. to 46s.

Clover... 90s. to 126s.

HOPS.

Maidstone, Oct. 9.—The Hop picking and packing is now quite over, and the few planters that

were fortunate in growing some are all offering their samples at market, but we scarce hear of a sale being made. The prices asked are from 10*l.* to 14*l.* per cwt., which the buyers at present not being inclined to give, nothing is done, Duty called 20,000*l.*

Worcester, Oct. 4.—Only one packet of Worcester Hops of this year's growth has yet been brought to this market, for which 12*l.* 12s. to 14*l.* 14s. have been offered, but it has not yet been sold. Prices are rather flatter, and the sale is dull. 1822, 8*l.* to 10*l.* 10s. 1821, 4*l.* 6s. to 5*l.*

COBBETT'S WEEKLY REGISTER.

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Published every Saturday Morning, at Seven o'Clock.

TO
THE PEOPLE OF
KENSINGTON, CHELSEA
AND FULHAM,

On the Extortions and the Insolence of the Turnpike-Toll Collectors and Renters; and also on the conduct of the Trustees of the Turnpike Roads.

Kensington, October 23, 1833.

MY NEIGHBOURS,

THE insolence of many of the gate-keepers on the roads of these populous villages has long been a subject of complaint with those whose affairs compel them to go through the gates; but, until of late, it does not appear to have been suspected, that they were guilty of extortion to any considerable extent. The decision

of Monday last, at Bow-street, proves, however, that their extortion has been such as to match their long and well-known insolence.

This decision and the proceedings which led to it are of great importance to the whole kingdom, and especially to those who live in the vicinage of the metropolis, all round which this extortion has been so long in practice; but, perhaps, of all the numerous villages in this immense circle, none have suffered more injury from this cause than the three villages mentioned at the head of the Letter that I have now the honour to address to you; that is to say, of all the King's Christian subjects, none have suffered more from this impudent system of Jewish extortion than we have.

A circumstance which adds

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considerably to the indignation that we naturally feel on the occasion, is, that the injury, the loss, from this scandalous system of extortion has fallen chiefly upon the owners of *ass-carts* and *one-horse carts*. I am aware, that, *ultimately, and generally speaking*, the toll, like most taxes, falls upon the *consumer*. A carter, who was bargaining with me, the other day, about bringing a load from Isleworth, reminded me of the *tolls* he had to pay; and, he told me, that *if I would pay the tolls*, he would do the job for so much. I, therefore, in that case, paid the tolls. But, in the case of hay, straw, garden-stuff, carriers' loads, and the like, where there is no bargain to be made with a particular person, the *toll falls upon the owner of the cart*. The *nurseryman* and *gardener* do not raise his prices on account of the toll. The *carrier* do not raise the price of his parcels. The *ass-cart man* do not put the additional toll on his goods. And, thus, in the far greater part of cases, the extor-

tion pinches a description of persons, who, above almost any class that I know of, merit, not only protection from wrong, but all the encouragement which the rich are able to bestow on them. For, here is a class of men, just emerging, just raising their heads up above the state of mere daily labour; just beginning to get a little property; just beginning to conceive a hope of being able to secure themselves and their children from the pauper-list; and, building this hope, too, not on the chapter of *gamble* of any sort, but on the acquirements of their incessant labour. Extortion is *always* hateful; it is always worthy of severe reprobation and punishment; it is in its very nature excessively odious: what, then, must it be, when practised on a set of men like these, who rise early, lay themselves down late, and whose example is calculated to produce so excellent an effect? What must it be, when employed to take from each of these laborious and exemplary families a pound

or two of bread a day, and to put the amount into the pockets of a tribe of Jews? And, my neighbours, what will be your surprise (not to say indignation), when you find, as you will by-and-by, that this base extortion has been practised under the pretended sanction of an Act of Parliament, and that that Act of Parliament protects the extortioners from punishment by indictment, and wholly deprives the injured parties of that redress, which the Common Law gives, and which has, in this case, now been, for the first time, taken away?

However, we must endeavour, when Parliament meets, to regain the protection to honest men which has thus been taken from them; and, in the meanwhile, to ascertain what remedies the Parliament has thought proper to leave us. But, first of all, it will be useful to make a plain statement of the case, which I cannot do in any way better, perhaps, than in giving a narrative of my proceedings against the toll-collectors of the

roads leading to the Westward, through the gates at Hyde Park Corner and Piccadilly, just saying, by way of preface, what these roads are, and under what acts they exist; because some of my readers may have the means of obtaining, or of referring to, the acts. What we chiefly want at present is, to know how to go to work, to get back the money, which the Jews have unjustly sacked. However, I will lay my narrative before the Public; and then, I will give some advice as to this matter.

The decision at Bow-street, and the penalties inflicted (a particular account of which shall be given by-and-by), related to transactions upon two different roads; that is to say, roads existing, under two different Acts of Parliament. For instance, although from Hyde Park, the road is, in fact, one, speaking of the earth and the banks, it is in law a part of two roads; because the authority to collect tolls upon it is given by two distinct Acts of Parliament.

And not only is this the case; not only are there two Acts of Parliament giving this authority; but there are two distinct sets of trustees for managing the affairs of the roads. And, here, let me observe, that these trustees are usually very numerous; a hundred or more perhaps to each turnpike-road. They consist of persons of property residing near the road. They receive *no pay*. They act under an *oath*; and they are to act according to the rules and regulations of the Act of Parliament. A certain number of them must be present at the performance of certain acts to make what they do legal. One of the things which they have to do, is, to **LEASE THE TOLLS**, when they think proper to lease them. This is a very important part of their duty, and numerous precautions are taken by the law to prevent any *collusion* or cheating in the discharge of this part of their duty. The trustees act, in fact, for the Public; and, if they let the tolls, the more money they get for them, the more they have to lay out upon the road; or, if the road be in sufficiently good state, they may *lower the tolls*. Hence it is very clear, that the trustees ought to be very watchful as to the conduct of the per-

sons, to whom they let the tolls. It is the duty of trustees, when they let the tolls, to take care to let them for as much as can be got; and to take care also, that the lessees do not extort upon that public, to act for whose benefit, the trustees are solemnly sworn.

Now, then, the two roads in question, are as follows. The first road stands upon chap. 13. of the 51st year of the reign of Geo. 3. In other words, an Act passed on the 4th of April, 1811. This road is called the road, from *Hyde Park Corner to Counters' Bridge*; that is to say, a sort of drain, where the mud runs through from KENNEDY and LEE's Nursery Garden, across the road down towards the swamps of FULHAM. That is *Counters' Bridge*, which I must have gone over several thousand times, and yet I never knew of its existence till I had occasion to look at this Act of Parliament. But, this road has many others belonging to it. Suppose yourself at Hyde Park Corner and going on to the westward: all the roads and lanes lying to your left hand down as far as the Thames, whether they run cross-ways or long-ways; all of them, (except the King's road), belong to this first turnpike-

road; so that, the gate at Hyde Park Corner, that at Kensington, that at Pimlico, the bar at Chelsea, the bar at Little Chelsea, the gate at Queen's Elm, and the bar at Gloucester-road, all belong to this first turnpike-road.

The other road stands upon chap. 16. of the 43d of Geo. 3.; in other words, the Act was passed on the 24th of March, 1803. This road begins at Counters' Bridge in the parish of Kensington, goes on through Hammersmith, Turnham Green, Brentford, Hounslow and to the powder-mills on Hounslow Heath; and at Hounslow, it branches off and goes to Crauford Bridge. I had nothing to do with any part of this road, except with the gate at Hammersmith, which is not more than two or three hundred yards from Counters' Bridge. Close to this gate at Hammersmith, is a bar that stops you from going down to North End, Fulham. —In short, it is impossible to move about the parishes of Chelsea, Kensington and Fulham (except you go on foot) without having your hand constantly in your pocket for money to be given to these gate-keepers. The sums collected must be enormous: but, of that, more another time: at present I will confine

myself to the matter more immediately before us, and will, as I proposed, proceed with my narrative.

On the 28th August, just as I was about to get on horseback, to go to the country, a neighbour called upon me, and represented to me, that the toll-keepers were extorting from the one-horse cart men one half more than the poor fellows ought to pay. He told me what they were taking. I looked into the Act of Parliament (chap. 95. 4th year of Geo. 4.) passed on the 19th July last, and I found, that, if my neighbour's account were correct, there was a very wicked extortion going on. I had no time to set about a remedy then; and, therefore, I begged my neighbour to wait till I came back from the country, observing to him, at the same time, that I thought it but fair, to tell the fellows that they were extorting, and to give them notice of my intention. I was going down into Sussex, and the readers of the Register will recollect that I went from thence into Kent, and did not get home again until the 6th Sept. My road to Sussex lay through the gate at Kensington, through the bar at Little Chelsea, and over Battersea-bridge. As I went through the gate at Kensing-

ton, I asked the gate-keeper how much he took now for a one-horse cart; with as much insolence as man could express by countenance and gesture, he told me fourpence halfpenny. I told him he was acting in violation of the law; that I should be back again in about a fortnight; and that if I found him persevering in this demand upon the one-horse carts, I certainly would call him to account. His words were these:—"You be damned: don't stand here both-ering: go along and mind your own business." When I came to the bar at Little Chelsea, I gave the same notice. The fellow at the bar set up a sort of hooting laugh, pointing his finger up at me. I saw a poor man with a jack-ass cart, a little further on the road, and I requested him to come to me when I should return from the country, that I might instruct him how to get justice on these extortioners; for this poor man, with his little screealy jack-ass, and a cart, which, with the ass in it, I could have taken and carried upon my back; this poor man had been paying ever since the 19th July, three halfpence a day more than was paid at the same bar by a Lord going through in his gig; and these villanous toll-collectors had been extort-

ing from the poor man's family the price of a pound of bread every day in the week except Sunday!

When I returned from the country, I had a great deal of business to attend to; and, indeed, until the 10th of this month, I never was able to find time to call these people to account. About a week before the 10th, a man brought me some things from Regate with his little horse and cart. The horse and cart were just the things for putting in practice my intention with respect to these toll-keepers. On the 10th, therefore, I sallied forth with James Palmer, his cart and horse, going first through the Kensington Gate. There the man demanded, insisted on and took fourpence halfpenny, the same at Hammersmith Gate. At Little Chelsea Bar, the fellow obstructed and hindered us; but when I told him the consequences, he took threepence, and let us pass. At Hyde Park Corner, the man demanded fourpence halfpenny, and would not let us pass without it. We did not pass, but went down to Pimlico. There the collector demanded fourpence halfpenny, obstructed and hindered us; but finally took threepence. We then went across the Thames, and found just the same practices going on

at the Elephant and Castle, at Kennington and at Vauxhall. On the 11th October I went out again, in order to see whether the visit of the day before had produced any effect. At Kensington Gate I began again; and there the gate-keeper took threepence, though, for the same cart, with the same empty hamper in it the day before, fourpence halfpenny had been taken at the same gate. It is not more than half a mile I should think, from the Kensington Gate to the Hammersmith Gate, and at this latter, the fellow demanded and took fourpence halfpenny, giving me by way of change, a torrent of the most villanous abuse; but, as that is to be the subject of a hearing hereafter, I say no more about it at present. We went back to Hyde Park Corner, where the man took threepence, though the night before, the gate-keeper had insisted upon having fourpence halfpenny. Thence we went to Queen's Elm, where the gate-keeper would not let us through without the fourpence halfpenny. I turned back and came home, but not without receiving from this gate-keeper a large load of most viperous abuse.

It is necessary to observe, that, on the 10th October at every one

of the gates that I went to, I remonstrated with the gate-keeper; told him that he was violating the law, told him what my object was but in every instance, except at Gloucester-road bar, and at Chelsea bar, I received some ill answer or other, in addition to the obstruction and hinderance, and in some cases, in addition to the extortion. Let me state, however, that I should not have been thus indulgent, if I had known on the 10th what I had found out on the 11th; namely, that these extortioners were a nest of Jews. I had no idea of this. I did not think that we were Jew-ridden to this extent. I have since found, that, directly or indirectly, these tribes of Jews have their hands on a large part of the turnpike tolls of the whole kingdom; and especially of those within fifty miles of the metropolis. This is touching us with a heavy hand, indeed. These Jews are also, I find, renters of *post horse duty*; and thus have their hands in our pockets all over the country. They are the "farmers" of tolls and taxes. The Jew Levi, when before the Magistrates at Bow-street, said that I was an *enemy* of all turnpikes and all trustees and all commissioners. I certainly am an enemy of all Jews, and of all farmers of tolls

and taxes. The letting of the taxes to farm produced the dethronement of two or three of our English kings; and, amongst all those who had a hand in producing the revolution in France, none laboured with so much effect as the *Farmers General of Taxes*; a fact which is perfectly well known to every one at all acquainted with the causes of that most tremendous revolution.

The Jews have never been found numerous and opulent in any country which was not fast going to decay; but more of this by-and-by: at present let me proceed with my narrative. Finding the Jews incorrigible, finding them also impudent and insolent; finding them so shameless, so barefacedly extorting, I said, I will not take these fellows before Justices of the Peace: I will *indict* them for the extortion; and with this determination I came home on the 10th October in the evening. But when I came to look again at the Act of Parliament, I found, to my utter astonishment, and I must add to my indignation, the following words, which secures the Jews, and which takes from the Public the protection of the common law.

The words (in the Act of the 19th July last) are these, "Pro-

vided always, and be it further enacted, That from and after the passing of this Act, no person or persons who shall *ask and take* more toll than he is authorised to take by this Act, or any Act now in force, or by any Act hereafter to be made and passed, shall be *prosecuted by Indictment for Extortion, or otherwise, nor any other proceeding be adopted against such person or persons for the offence aforesaid, other than by prosecuting for the forfeiture and penalty before a Justice of the Peace, as is herein or by the said recited Act admitted.*"

Who could have believed this, if it were not actually visible in print. Never before where words like these put into an Act of Parliament. The utmost penalty is *five pounds*; and though these Jews may extort to the amount of fifty thousand pounds, though they may carry on this extortion with the most atrocious audacity; though they may curse and revile, as their progenitors did Stephen and even our Saviour himself; if you have no other remedy than that of getting a penalty, the utmost of which is five pounds! The Jew Levi and his Attorney asserted before the Magistrates at Bow-street that Mr. FRANK-

LAND LEWIS and Lord SHAF-
TESBURY assured them, at the
time when the Act was before the
House, that it would authorize
them to go on collecting the four-
pence halfpennies from the one-
horse carts. This assertion was
made on Thursday the 16th of
October, when we were the first
time before Sir RICHARD BIRNIE.
When we were before him again
last Monday, they were reminded
of what they had said about Mr.
FRANKLAND LEWIS and
Lord SHAFTESBURY. They
denied (though I have plenty of
witnesses to prove,) that they men-
tioned Lord SHAFTESBURY.
However, they stuck to FRANK-
LAND LEWIS, and said be-
sides, that they had the same as-
surance from the Clerk of the
House of Commons that drew up
the Bill.

What! Well then, we are come
to a pretty pass, indeed! The
whole story may be a lie. This
Levi and the Attorney told a
barefaced lie before the Magis-
trate's face, on the Thursday.
They both asserted, that they had
no knowledge of any complaint
having been made, until they read
of it in the Morning Chronicle of
Tuesday, when they actually
brought to Bow-street a letter
from their advocate Mr. Law, who

had been retained (he said in the
letter), to appear in answer to
the summonses; and whose letter
was dated on the Monday! Capa-
ble as they were of a lie like this;
masters as they were of audacity
sufficient to enable them to tell this
lie to the Magistrate in the execu-
tion of his office, there can be little
doubt that they would not boggle
at telling a lie about FRANK-
LAND LEWIS and the Clerk
of the House of Commons; so
that we will set it down as a lie
of theirs, and not suppose a band
of Jews, whose very dead car-
casses the ancient laws of England
would not suffer to be deposited
within the bounds of any city, had
a hand in framing a law for the
governing and binding of Eng-
lishmen: and yet, I must ask,
and we must all ask, and we
must ask the Parliament, too,
when it shall meet again: we must
ask, how there came to be inserted
in an English Act of Parliament,
a clause (clause 50.), to secure
extortion, and to take from the
King's subjects the protection of
the common law. That the Jews
had any hand in framing this Act,
it would be horrible, indeed, to
suppose, and I do not suppose
it; but this I must say, and this
I will say, that, if Levi had drawn
up the Act himself, and had pre-

mediated the extortion which has been committed, he could not have framed the fiftieth clause in a manner better suited to his purpose and his intention. Had it not been for this clause, I should have indicted a score of these fellows at the Sessions. They would at this moment, in all likelihood, have been at the Tread Mill. They well knew that I could not indict them. They well knew all about clause 50; and, therefore, they were bold and insolent. They took threepence of some, fourpence halfpenny of others; they treated the people and the law with scorn; because they well knew, that the Act of Parliament contained something to screen them from any thing like punishment; and that though scores were at the Tread Mill for offences purely trifling compared to theirs; though scores of Christians were suffering thus, the Jews were safe.

In returning to my narrative, and bringing back the reader to the proceedings at Bow-street on Monday last, I must revert a little to a circumstance that took place on the previous Thursday at Bow-street. On that day, the Jew Levi, after asserting, that I had called him a *Jew thief*, had the base insolence

to call me an *Atheist*. I had given him no sort of provocation, I had never seen him that I know of, and certainly never spoken to him in my life. I had not summoned him to Bow-street. I had never mentioned or heard his name, until after my first application for the summonses. I had never called him or any one a *Jew thief*: and yet this audacious Jew called me an *Atheist*, and that, too, in the face of the Magistrate before whom he stood!

When Magistrates act in the sort of way that those of Bow-street have acted upon this occasion, they want no compliments or commendations from any body; and, therefore, I shall attempt nothing of the kind. It was a little oversight in Sir RICHARD BIRNIE to suffer this impudent Jew to affix the appellation of *Atheist* on one who had justly accused his agents of extortion; but indeed, such rare audacity; such monstrous impudence; such out of the way effrontery, takes the quickest man by surprise; and the thing passes by without receiving just animadversion. This was manifestly the case in this instance. Sir RICHARD BIRNIE, when he came to consult the Act of Parliament; when he came to reflect that my complaint was

just, and to reflect also on the magnitude of the extortion; when he saw me, as he must have seen me, in the discharge of a duty towards the Public, and actuated by none but the most disinterested motives: when he came thus to view the matter, he must have seen the monstrosity of a Jew being suffered to call me an *Atheist*, and that, too, before a Magistrate sitting on his bench.

It was manifestly in this state of mind that Sir RICHARD BIRNIE (while we were waiting for the arrival of Mr. LAW) took occasion to observe on the *language* which had been made use of when we were last before him. I, as some of the newspapers have stated, then said, "Yes, Sir, and this JEW DOG had the audacity to call me an *Atheist*." Upon this, there now was a sort of barking on the part of the Jew, upon which I repeated, "Yes, Sir, I was called an *Atheist* by this JEW DOG." Some of the vile newspapers have said, that Colonel CLITHERO, who they say, was sitting on the Bench, cried out that such *language ought not to be tolerated*. I don't know Colonel CLITHERO. There were a dozen gentlemen sitting on the Bench. If any Magistrate had done what Colonel CLITHERO is said to have done, I certainly

should have gone as far as that respect which is due to a Bench of Magistrates from every man, and in which I have never been wanting in my life; I should have gone as far as that respect would let me go in giving Col. CLITHERO a rap upon the knuckles. However, I perceived nothing of the kind. I did not know any of the gentlemen sitting on the Bench, except Sir RICHARD BIRNIE and Mr. MINSHULL. None of them interfered in the business; and of course, the Jew newspapers have told a lie upon Colonel CLITHERO. It is curious enough, that the Jew Levi, actually took an opportunity at the meeting at Bow-street on the Thursday, to praise the *Old Times* and the *Morning Herald*, calling them respectable papers. I have often said, that the London press, is in great part *owned by the Jews*. There was a Jew of the name of King, who owned in part or in whole, two or three of the newspapers; and I am quite satisfied that the far greater part of them are now *in the pay* of the Jews, at any rate.

For my part, nothing that Col. CLITHERO, or any body else can say, will alter my way of thinking, or my language with regard to this description of infidels and

blasphemers. I think of them, and I talk of them, as our ancestors thought and talked of them; and, if I had power equal to my will, they should be treated now as they were treated in former times; and how *that was*, my readers will gather from the following extract from Jacob's Dictionary of the Laws of England.

"In former times, the Jews and all their goods were at the disposal of the chief lord where they lived; who had an absolute property in them; and they might not remove to another lord without his leave: and we read that KING HENRY III. sold the Jews for a certain term of years to EARL RICHARD, his brother. They were distinguished from the Christians in their lives, and at their deaths; for they wore a badge on their outward garments, in the shape of a table, and were fined if they went abroad without such badges, and they were never buried within the walls of any city, but without the same, and anciently not permitted to burial in the country.—The 53 Hen. III. is called *Provisiones de Judaismo*; and by the statute 18 Edw. I. the King had a fifteenth granted him *pro expulsione Judæorum*. In the 16th year of Edw. I. all

"the Jews in England were imprisoned; but they redeemed themselves for a vast sum of money: notwithstanding which, anno 19 of that King, he banished them all.—(p. 54.) And they remained in banishment 364 years; till OLIVER CROMWELL restored them to their trade and worship here.—The Jews are here by an implied licence, but on a proclamation of banishment: 'tis like a determination of letters of safe conduct to an alien enemy, who was here by virtue of such letters before."

So that COL. CLITHERO, if he had found fault with my language with regard to the Jew, would, at any rate, have had nothing like law to keep him in countenance. Is not Dog a name good enough, nay, too good, for one who boasts that he is descended from the murderers of Christ? If Christianity be part and parcel of the law of the land, are not those worse than dogs, who boast that they are descended from the murderers of the authors of that religion; and whose very name indicates that they would, if they could, crucify him again? Of other infidels it is said, that they are punished by the law, not for entertaining, but for promulgating their infidel opinions; for promul-

gating their attacks upon Christianity. And what, then, do these monsters do? Do not they promulgate their attacks upon Christianity? Do not they boast of being descended from the murderers of Christ? Do not they, in their blasphemous assemblies called synagogues, call Jesus Christ an impostor, and treat his faith and doctrine with the utmost contempt? What! Talk about Christianity being part and parcel of the law of the land, and deliver us up at the same time to be tolled and taxed by the Jews!

Very wise, indeed, was it in the law to make this description of wretches the absolute property of the lords of manors. This shows their quality of *dog*. King Henry sold them. They wore badges, as sheep or forest ponies are marked, to be distinguished as the property of this man or that man. Our ancestors no more thought of burying them like other people, than we think of burying dogs like men. It was worthy of a Christian country to refuse them burial at all, and to cause their carcasses to be flung into the sea. Edward the First was certainly the greatest man (*before the present King!*) that ever sat upon the English Throne. He squeezed this accursed race; he imprisoned them

all; but, at last, he banished them, and they remained banished for three hundred and sixty-four years; during the reigns of sixteen kings and queens, from Edward the Second to Charles the First inclusive. They were permitted to return by the atrocious hypocrite and tyrant, the Usurper Cromwell. At the Restoration, they were again upon their old footing. By the law of England, *they are banished from England*. They are upon the footing of persons, banished by proclamation, but who remain here *under sufferance*. The King may drive them out when he pleases by proclamation; and, I would not be Minister of the King, unless that prerogative, at any rate, were acted upon. I do not like the Spanish Inquisition; but if I must choose; if I cannot get rid of Moses without the aid of Father Dominick, give me Father Dominick.

To return, now, to what is of more immediate importance, and to hasten, while I have room, to that part of my letter which is to treat of *the means of getting the money back from these Jews*, let me first observe, that it is quite useless for me to take up the time of my neighbours, or that of my readers in general, with any thing in the way of *report of the*

speeches made by Mr. Law, and to deal with me as his brother at the Old Manby last at Roy-
 stated. The decision of Sir
 -Mansel Burns, which took
 place the next day, being so
 much more interesting than any
 such report. Some silly stuff and
 some lies, however, which have
 appeared in the newspapers, it
 is necessary to notice. These
 newspapers have said that I
 complimented Mr. Law. To be
 sure, I did say that he had per-
 formed his office with good he-
 -dour, and that he had commented
 on some part of the Act of Par-
 -liament with a good deal of in-
 -genuity and ability, but it must
 be false to represent me as prais-
 -ing a speech of an hour and a
 -quarter long, the whole of which
 was detached in ten minutes.
 When Mr. Law was begging hard
 for the Jews, he put me in mind
 of Solomon's words for the Chief
 of the Bump, and I, looking up
 at him and laughing, said, "I
 -perhaps I never shall have to fee
 a lawyer to pray for me; but
 if I have, it shall certainly be
 -you." This the newspaper fel-
 -lows have thought proper to re-
 -present as a serious declaration
 on my part. But when did they
 ever represent any thing truly.
 -Mr. Law appeared to me to be
 -born quite perfectly well disposed

to deal with me as his brother at
 -Manby last at Roy-
 and I was perfectly well disposed
 to treat him as I treated his bro-
 -ther. He appears to have dis-
 -covered pretty quickly that it
 would be best to abstain from any
 thing personal; and with the ex-
 -ception of "the person" and
 "this person," which escaped him
 once or twice, at the outset of his
 speech, his behaviour was not of-
 -fensive. I noticed the "this per-
 -son" but observed that though he
 had condescended in that way, I
 should not, and that I should treat
 him as a gentleman, notwithstand-
 -ing anything that I might have
 -perceived in his phylology.
 The substance of what Mr.
 Law said was this: That Long and
 his associates paid a certain sum
 of money for the gates, that they
 had contracted to receive the four-
 -pence halfpenny for one horse
 -cart; that to prevent them from
 receiving that fourpence half-
 -penny would be in fact an act of
 -dishonesty, though sanctioned by
 an Act of Parliament; that the Act
 of Parliament in question did not
 sanction such robbery of the con-
 -tractors; that the Act authorized
 the taking of the fourpence half-
 -penny; that, as a proof of this,
 there was a board at the toll-gate,
 put up by the trustees, sanction-

ing the taking of the fourpence halfpenny; and that, at any rate, the trustees of the tolls were free to do as they pleased, since they were thus openly authorized by the trustees to take the fourpence halfpenny. My answer was this: The Act of Parliament does not authorize the taking of the fourpence halfpenny; as to the board put up by the trustees, the fact is worth just nothing at all in proof of the legality of the demand or of the success of the demand of the toll-gates; for though I do not say of course that that is the case, but it is a matter which it is possible that in some cases, such as this, as a collateral case exists between the toll-keepers and the trustees. Now, as to the contract made by the Jew and his associates, to receive the fourpence halfpenny, as to this contract, upon which the learned gentleman had said so much, what would the Magistrate think of it, and what would the learned gentleman himself think of it, when the facts were stated, namely, that the fourpence halfpenny was taken on, or rather, the three halfpence, by an Act which was passed just a year after David had made his contract? The old Act made the rate pay three-pence, and in 1821, when it was passed, it made the rate pay four-

pence halfpenny in place of three-pence; in July 1822, another Act was passed to bring it back to three-pence; and yet this wicked Jew and his Attorney, says, and his Barrister also, asserted that he, the Jew, did, in August 1821, contract to receive as well that was not laid on until an Act passed for the purpose in 1822. The Jew said, that he made the contract in consequence of having the fourpence halfpenny. Now, mark what a shocking narrative the Act, laying on the three halfpence, was passed by the Parliament, during a Session, which Session did not commence until six months after the Jew had made this contract! And yet! Mr. Justice talked of the Jew and his Attorney as if the Jew and his associates had the law did authorize them to take the fourpence halfpenny until the new law was passed, in July last. From January to July they got the three halfpence for nothing, and when the new Act took them away they would not give them up, being contented in their extortion by the board, which, contrary to law, the trustees refused to remain stuck up at the toll-gates. Some persons, however, more intelligent than others can owners, in general,

refused to pay the three pence half penny, and refused to compromise against the bill-officers; and, in short, resisted the demand. The *Bill of the Attorney* of Mr. Law's clients induced them not to be so obstinate here. To such persons they gave way; I had six witnesses to prove this; so that here is clear proof of their having known what they were about. This is proof positive, that they knew what they were at, if Mr. Law did not know what he was at. The fact is, he must have been most grossly deceived. He might think it very desirable to foil and to mortify me. This was a feeling natural enough in almost any lawyer, but in him more especially; but he could not wish to be defeated by me; and if he had been fully acquainted with the facts of the case, he must have known that, having for our judges acute and clear-headed men like the Magistrates of Dowstreet, defeat was sure to be his lot. He was deceived with regard to the contract; deceived also with regard to the conduct of his clients, in taking three pence from some and four pence half penny from others. I am sure he was deceived; for surprise and disappointment were on his countenance the moment I mentioned

the date of the contract and the remarkable circumstances of the Jew having taken three pence from the intelligent tradesmen and four pence half penny from the labouring classes. He turned towards the attorney, and asked him for explanation; but the boldness of his case now became so manifest that there would be no more to say. The effect produced by any thing that he had to say, was, I am convinced none at all; for, from the very outset, from the first opening of the testimony, Sir Richard B. Williams, as he said the next day, when he decided, was convinced that the complaint was well founded. Indeed, the thing was so plain, that there wanted little besides indignity in the Magistrate's decision. It was agreed before the commencement of the business on Monday that this case should decide the whole; so that the sole case which was decided, which in fact, decided eight or ten cases. The Jews had to pay thirty six pence, besides my costs, which made the amount about forty pence or forty-two pence; besides the Jew's own costs, which ought to be pretty large, seeing what he had just performed for him; and what Mr. Drew, the attorney, attempted to

perform for him. He (Jew) is the
 guilty man, compared with the
 innocent Jews which these Jews
 have persecuted. On a Saturday,
 on Tuesday and on Thursday, an
 enemy can pass my door in an
 hour, and give him a shilling
 half in three halfpence. On an
 average the Jew has not gained
 so little by this extortion as six
 pounds a day, on the worst days,
 his any day, on our flow roads
 above mentioned. Then there is
 the Kent road, the Kensington,
 the Old London, the Maudslayi, and
 the New Kent road, and I
 shall show that this Jew and his asso-
 ciates have made money where the
 general public will not have it.
 On the Kent road, the Jew has
 been for many years, and is now
 still, a very great and unjustly pocket-
 ed. If I think that this Jew goes all
 down the North road, for a great
 distance, and down towards Hert-
 ford, and in the day, because
 he knows that other day, that a
 bright youth of the name of Peter
 Hill, had, suspended a decision
 about the Magistrate at Bow, street
 and decided. This bright gentle-
 man had the Act of Parliament
 before him, that we see, for he
 was not from it, and yet he wanted
 to have the case argued by coun-
 sel before he came to a decision.
 When he had it argued by

that Jew, and counsel, with a Jew
 and father, counsel, with a Jew.
 If any man, out of Bedlam, can
 read clauses 18, and 19 of the
 Act of July, last, and still have a
 doubt upon the subject, all they
 can say is, that he ought not
 to remain out of Bedlam another
 hour. It only remains for me to point
 out, in as brief and yet as plain a
 manner as I can, how the injured
 one, these cart owners, ought now
 to go to work to get back the
 money that has been extorted
 from them. Upon one two roads
 the sum extorted has been three-
 pence each time. Upon other
 roads it has been sometimes a
 penny, sometimes a halfpenny,
 sometimes two pence, sometimes
 three pence, and sometimes other
 sums. I shall state the case of
 my own one horse cart men, and
 those upon other roads will be
 able to judge of their case by the
 statement which I shall make of
 my men's case. In order to
 make any statement as clear as
 possible, I will not only say what
 the law is, but will state why it
 was made what it is.

The Parliament wished to
 bring broad wheels into use as
 generally as possible. In August
 1822, they made a law, which
 was to go into effect in January

1822, according to which law, one-horse carts which continued to have *narrow wheels*, were to pay *one half more* than they paid before the month of January 1823.

Upon our two roads above mentioned, the one-horse carts have paid *three pence* for many years past; therefore, as they did not make their wheels broad before January 1823, they began to pay *one half more* in January 1823; that is to say, they began to pay *four pence halfpenny*. Accordingly the trustees put up the board, authorising the Jews to take the fourpence halfpenny.

This was all right. The trustees were right in putting up the board, and the Jews were right in taking the fourpence halfpenny. But, on the 19th July last, another act was passed, repealing the other act with regard to the wheels of one-horse carts, and declaring that no one-horse cart, whether with narrow wheels or not, should be subject to the additional toll mentioned by the other act. The moment this act was passed, the trustees ought to have put up another board conformably to this new act, and the toll-renters ought to have ceased to take the additional toll; but the trustees neglected their duty, and the toll-renters went on to take the four-

pence halfpenny; so that, the injury which the one-horse owners have received has arisen between the 19th July and the day of the decision at Bow-street. It is easy for every man to ascertain how many times three halfpence have been extorted from him. From a Kensington carter going regularly to London with one cart, the sum has been about *ten shillings*; from a Hammersmith carter going regularly in the same manner, the sum has been about *twenty shillings*.

To get this money back, there are two ways of going to work; one is by applying to the Jews and giving them the choice between summons and prosecution, and refunding. If I were a carter, I should put the sum down upon a piece of paper, I should leave it at the gate with my name, and if the money were not there ready for me in three days, I should get my summons, the way of doing which is very simple and very easy. The Magistrates at Bow-street will not, I dare say, thank me; but I cannot help recommending to the labouring men, who can be little used to these matters, to go to Bow-street by all means, if they are at all within reach of it. Go to the sitting Magistrate there; tell him the nature and extent of the injury; tell him

how much money has been extorted from you; and he will grant you a summons, and cause the summons to be served, and tell you when you are to attend. Be afraid of no lawyer, nor of any body else. Call upon the Magistrate for protection and redress. Do this soberly and quietly, and you will obtain the redress. You must summon some particular person by name. You must recollect some one man to whom you have paid the over-toll since the 19th of July; and when you have this man summoned and brought before the Magistrate, you have to swear that you paid the over-toll to him, on or about such a day.

The name of some one man to whom you have paid the overtoll you will easily find out; but you may, whenever you pay a toll, call upon the receiver of the toll to tell you his name; for, though he is compelled to have his name written over the toll-house door, you may not be able to read it, and, therefore, the law has ordered, that he shall tell his name to every person who pays a toll, if such person choose to demand it.

However, "equitable adjustment" is the best mode of proceeding. The getting back of the money is what I want to see accomplished. The getting back of

the pounds of bread to the families of all these one-horse cart men. This is what I want to see done in the first place. What ought to be done afterwards may be matter for future consideration. Upon all other roads as well as upon our roads. Everywhere, where the additional toll upon one-horse carts was laid on, it ought to have been taken off on the 20th July. The one-horse cart men must all know when there was an additional toll laid on last January: whenever it was laid on, it ought to have been taken off in July; and if it was not taken off, there has been an extortion to that amount from that day to this.

I hope that the remedy, that the means of obtaining redress, which I have here pointed out, will be found easy of application, and perfectly effectual. If, however, any owner of a one-horse cart should want further information on the subject, he may obtain it by applying in person either here or at Fleet-street.

As to the application of the penalties, one half only goes to the person who makes the complaint. For this reason whoever makes a complaint should tell the Magistrate how much money has been extorted from him, and

also the amount of his loss of time, and the amount of any other injury he may have received from the same cause. He who applies for a summons must pay for it, and pay for the service of it; but this expense falls finally, upon the offending party.

As to the penalties inflicted in consequence of my application, my intention is to give them to some poor man or men whom I know to be in great want without being justly chargeable with laziness, drunkenness, or any other moral offence. I should have a perfect right to keep these penalties to myself; but I shall not do it: as a reward for what I am very sure is a great public service, I have resolved to treat myself to the pleasure of relieving from deep distress a poor and inoffensive family.

The one-horse cart men who went and got summonses at the same time that I did, and the management of whose cases I took upon myself, will, of course, each receive his due share of the fines. I have not yet had an opportunity of seeing my solicitor; but in the next Register I will state all the particulars, names, dates, sums, and every thing.

JOURNAL

OF A

RIDE IN FRANCE.

To the Editor of the Register.

DARTFORD (Kent), Tuesday, Oct. 7, 1823.—Set off from Kensington about four o'clock in the afternoon; came through Deptford, Welling, and Crayford, to this place, and got here about eight in the evening.

ELVERTON FARM, Wednesday, Oct. 8.—Started from Dartford this morning at seven; came through Northfleet, Gravesend, Stroud, Rochester, Chatham and Sittingbourne, to this place, where I arrived at four in the afternoon.

DOVER, Thursday, Oct. 9.—For the last two days I had fine weather to begin my journey; but this morning was very wet and very unpleasant till about eleven o'clock, when I took leave of my hospitable host at Elverton Farm, passing through Faversham,

Baughton and Canterbury to Dover, at which place I arrived early in the evening.

Calais, Friday, Oct. 10. This morning was so unpleasant that, with the opinion of my friend at Dover, I made up my mind to the

losing of a day at Dover. The weather, however, got better towards noon, and a steam-boat being ready to start, I got ready, all in a hurry, to embark. My friend was so kind as to render me great assistance in getting myself and horse on board in time.

The wind was fresh, as the sailors call it, and, being fair at the same time, the steam-boat, which was a very fine vessel, brought us over to this place in the short time of two hours and a half. As I bring a horse over with me, it may be well to mention some particulars attending his passage.

The manner of putting him on board the vessel, contrary to my expectations, was, to sling him. Carriages they put upon the deck, but a horse has to be lowered, by means of a crane, into the hold of

the vessel. This operation is attended with very little danger to the horse: he goes into the air, suspended from the crane, and plunges and squeals a good deal (so did my horse, at least); but his strength is so completely surrounded by the means of strength greater than his own, that he is, at last, obliged to yield to the superiority; and trembling and tottering with fear, he suffers himself to be introduced to the apartment appropriated to passengers of his description.—I paid, at the Dover Custom-house, 4s. duty on my horse; valuing him at 40l. that is, just 1s. on ten pounds.* To porters for putting him on board, 5s.; and 2s. for a halter to tie him up with on board the vessel. For his passage, a guinea and a half. On this side I pay for him, to the commissioner of the customs and police, 25 francs and 15 sous, in-

* A part of the letter is defaced, or, at least, rendered illegible, by the tear on account of the seal; so that I am not quite sure, that the sums are here stated correctly. I believe they are, however; and, if they be not, the circumstance shall be noticed hereafter.—W. C.

cluding duty, charges of getting him on shore, and the commissioner's fee. (A franc is a coin of the value of 20 sous; and a sou, I believe, is worth just about a halfpenny English money.)—I paid, for my own passage, half-a-guinea. I am to pay, for my portmanteau, 2 francs; for my passport, (which has to be changed for another on arriving here), 3 francs.—All the business on this side of the water is managed by one person, Monsieur the Commissioner, who is the person you consult upon every matter. He is a very civil and attentive man, and, having all the business under his own eye, prevents foreigners from being imposed upon by any officious persons belonging to his department.—When I arrived at the hotel (*Hôtel de Maurice*), after having disembarked my horse, I was conducted into the room where they were eating dinner at what is called the *Table d'Hôte*. This *Table d'Hôte* is a provision for any travellers that may be in the house, or passing, about the time

that the dinner is ready. If they like to dine at this general *Table d'Hôte*, they may; if not, they may dine in a more private manner, just as they please.—With the queer sensations that the tossings of the steam-boat had given me, I did not feel inclined to partake in the entertainment going forward; and so I set myself down by the fire. I was not, however, without something to attract my attention. At the head of the table there stood a shabby-looking fellow, tightly buttoned up in an old surtout coat, with a black sleek head, and face almost as black, who, when first I went into the room, was *whistling*. I soon perceived that this was intended as an amusement for the company, which it certainly might be, for a little while, to any body; for, such was this person's excellence in his way, that, before I had been five minutes in his company, he reminded me, I thought, of almost every creature that can make a noise. His talent appeared to consist in mimicry.

He prefaced each part of his performance by a speech in explanation of the subject that was to follow. The *nightingale*, the *cuckoo*, every thing, in short, he imitated extremely well; but when he came to the *frog*, it was so palpably his *chef d'œuvre*, that I could not help laughing, in spite of my anxiety to be as polite as I could in the company of people so famous for their politeness as the French are.

ARRÈS, four leagues from Calais, Saturday, Oct. 11.—To-day the weather was very wet, till about noon. Set off from Calais. Coming out of Calais I met a *Diligence*, or some sort of travelling carriage, with two out-riders. The cavalcade, altogether, was the most uncouth thing of the kind I had ever seen. I was obliged to retreat before it, for some distance, to find a convenient place to let it go by, on account of the fear that my horse might be frightened. I stopped, and let it pass. One of the out-riders gave my nag a cut with his whip in going by,

and I did not expect any salutation more polite from the barbarous appearance of the whole concern, and especially from the manner in which the horses were driven along, which was, by the bawling of the riders and the clacking of their whips, which made a noise almost enough to stun one. There were five horses to the vehicle, which looked as cumbersome as those in which they carry wild beast in England, and certainly less handsome. The driver rode on one of the wheel-horses, which were two, abreast, the three others being all abreast before. A description of the dress of the drivers of these carriages would appear incredible to an Englishman. I have seen caricatures of it in England; but I expected to find the mode of travelling much altered; nevertheless it appears to be nearly the same that it was many years ago. The driver and the out-riders to this carriage wore *boots*, which admit of no comparison with any thing that I ever saw before that went

by the name of boots. Take off the foot, which was twice as big as feet generally are, the boot is a long fire-bucket; and if I were to fill a sheet of paper, I could not convey a more correct idea of the thing. The country for some miles, is entirely flat, and has formerly been a common, with furze growing upon it. I saw a man at plough at a mile from Calais, from whom I found that I had come a mile out of my way, having taken the road to DUNKIRK in mistake. They plough here with three horses abreast, and with a plough which is ugly, but not so heavy as some of ours in England, and they plough the land very well.—I went back, and got into my road.—Before I left Calais, I went to the market, it being market-day on Saturday. I saw farmers with their wheat, at some samples of which I looked. The wheat I saw was all very fine. Upon the road I saw a great many people, mostly women, going to and coming from market. They were going, or had been to market, it appeared, to buy things for domestic use; as those that were going home, I perceived, were carrying bread, apples, clothes, crockery-ware, and many other articles. These people were all well dressed. The labourers pretty much in the same

fashion as the English, with smock-frocks and trowsers, made of a sort of cotton stuff of a blue colour, and shoes and hats like the English. The women are very uniform in their dress. In wet weather they all wear cloaks. They seldom wear bonnets, but caps instead, which they cover when it rains, with a handkerchief or the hood of their cloaks. I speak, here, of what they call the *peasants*. Soil along here sandy, but good. Saw some men walking on high *pattens*.

ST. OMERS, six leagues from ARDRES, Sunday, Oct. 12.—Came from Ardes this morning (where I slept, on account of bad weather), and met the country people, at seven o'clock in the morning, going to church.* Passed through

* "Going to church at seven o'clock in the morning!" the reader will exclaim. Yes; for the Catholic Priests do not take the thing so easy as our "reformed" gentry do: If people go to church at seven o'clock in the morning, they must be up by six; and this, on the 12th of October, is, really, a pretty early hour. DRYDEN, in his fine poem, the *Hind and Panther*, makes the early worship in the Catholic church a subject of praise; and, when we reflect on all the effects, distant as well as near, indirect as well as direct; when we duly reflect on all the natural effects of inculcating, in this powerful manner, this great virtue of early rising, we cannot but agree with DRYDEN, as to this point, at any rate. It must be a pleasant sight to see the country people, in their best dresses, coming from all parts

the village of La Recousse, two leagues from Ardres, a pretty little place. The harvest nearly finished. Saw some *horse-beans*, a good many, all along the road from Calais. They have not begun to house these yet. They are standing in sheaves in the fields in shock. Saw one piece of *oats*, and one piece of *barley*, yet in the field, but cut. The harvest here must have been full a month later than in the eastern part of Kent; that is to say, at only about fifty miles off. The beans have all been housed in Kent more than a month. The beans appear to be very fine. They grow *rape* or *colesseed*, here, from which they make a great deal of *oil*. It is sowed in the spring, and transplanted in the fall of the year; not with *setting sticks*; but with a plough. They lay the plants at about a foot apart against the ploughed land, and then turn a furrow against them, laying a row of plants for every furrow they turn. The seed ripens the next summer. The

to the church at so early an hour; and, if I have not that pleasure myself, I have another, which the writer of this letter may be assured is quite equal to it, namely, that of knowing that he is up, and riding along the road in France, to see the country people at seven o'clock in the morning.—W. C.

soil here is chalky in many places, apparently very good; with hard flinty hills, and muddy lanes (in this weather, which is wet) like a good deal of the land in England. There is a row of planted trees, on each side of the great road, for almost every step of the road from Calais to this place. The trees are, for the most part, willows, black Italian poplars, ashes and elms, which latter appear to be much cultivated. These trees give the road and country a very fine appearance; and (which is by no means an unpleasant circumstance) there are *no turnpike-gates*. I have seen some woods, at a distance, but the land near the road, is, in general, very open; in many places for a thousand acres together, and more. The cattle that I have seen are good. Good cart-horses, and good cows. As for the sheep, I have seen very few, and those were at a distance from the road. I got to this place about eleven o'clock: in time to save myself from a ducking. Went this afternoon to see the cathedral, which is a very fine building; and also to see the ruins of the church of *St. Bertin*, a great part of which yet remains undemolished by the Revolution, during which the riches of the

monks of *St. Benedict*, to whom it belonged, were confiscated. That part of it which remains, stands on a base of about 120 yards by 60. The convent which was attached to it is entirely demolished; and the remnant (a beautiful piece of building) is now being sold to build houses for the citizens! The original possessions of this community were immense. The flour-mills that belonged to it remain, and are in use. They grind wheat to feed the people of St. Omers. All the land which belonged to it in the shape of beautiful gardens, is cut up and built upon, or made into smaller gardens. At the entrance to the nave of the church, which remains almost perfect, there are some statues of saints in hewed stone over the porch; but people have knocked off their heads and limbs, at different times, and carried them away.—I propose to remain here to-morrow, in order to go and see the *Chartreux* (the Carthusian monastery), and some other things. I am delighted with my ride, my anticipations are animating; but I cannot put my

name upon paper without feeling, that all the world is nothing in comparison with England.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

JAMES PAUL COBBETT.

I HAVE received two very interesting letters relative to the Paper Humbug. One is signed R. T., and it comes from Holderness, and is dated on the 20th September. The other is dated on the 8th October, and is signed S. The one from Holderness is very good: the one signed S. rather better, I think. Both together they will, as R. T. observes, give the System the devil of a blow. We shall see wheat, I think, at forty shillings a quarter; but I want to see it at twenty-four. The Small Note Bill certainly makes ten shillings a quarter difference. It is a ruin; but the ruin is too slow to rouse the nation in time. We shall be niggling about with this Small Note Bill, till the country is completely sunk, unless we do something to drive the dirty rags out of circulation, and to get back His Majesty's coin.

MARKETS.

**Average Prices of CORN through-
out ENGLAND, for the week end-
ing 11th October.**

	Per Quarter.
Wheat	46 5
Rye	36 0
Barley	23 4
Oats	20 6
Beans	38 4
Peas	29 8

Corn Exchange, Mark Lane.

**Quantities and Prices of British
Corn, &c. sold and delivered in
this Market, during the week ended
Saturday, 11th October.**

Qrs.	£.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Wheat 17,407	19,007	70	1	Average, 51	3
Barley 2,779	4,434	4	3	26	4
Oats 10,289	11,658	16	4	22	7
Rye 7	11	11	6	33	0
Beans 1,181	1,652	0	7	33	2
Peas 1,264	3,127	19	1	32	1

**Quarters of English Grain, &c.
arrived Coastwise, from Oct. 13
to Oct. 18, inclusive.**

Wheat... 5,390	Peas... 1,448
Barley... 8,500	Turneps... 720
Malt... 2,373	Linseed... —
Oats... 6,941	Rape... 38
Rye... 30	Brank... —
Beans... 1,580	Mustard... 123

**Various Seeds 47 qrs.—Flour 6,706
sacks.**

From Ireland.—Oats 500 qrs.

Foreign.—Linseed 1,150 qrs.

**Friday, Oct. 25.—The arrivals of
Grain this week are but moderate,
chiefly owing to the adverse state
of the wind. Prime dry samples
of Wheat rather exceed Monday's
terms, but in other qualities there
is no improvement. Barley re-
mains as last quoted. Beans and
Peas sell more freely. Oats of
good quality meet buyers readily,
but there is no freedom in the sale
of other sorts.**

**Monday, Oct. 20.—The arrivals
of all descriptions of Grain last
week were only moderate, and
this morning the fresh supplies of
Wheat, Barley, Beans, and Peas,
from Essex, Kent, and Suffolk,
are not considerable. The quan-
tity of Oats fresh up is also only
middling. The prime parcels of
Wheat have obtained the same
prices as last Monday, but have
not sold with equal freedom, and
all other qualities are dull in sale,
and rather cheaper.**

**Barley for malting is further ad-
vanced 2s. per quarter, and grain-
ing samples are rather improved
in value. Old Beans are in de-
mand, and obtain 1s. to 2s. advance
on the terms of this day se'night,
but there is no improvement in the
prices of New Beans. Grey Peas
are 2s. per quarter higher for such
samples as are handsome in colour.
Good samples of New Oats sell
with more readiness at rather
higher prices, but other kinds of
Oats continue at the same prices
as last quoted. Flour is unaltered.**

COUNTRY CORN MARKETS.

By the QUARTER, excepting where otherwise named; from Wednesday to Saturday last, inclusive.

The Scotch Markets are the Returns of the Week before.

WHEAT.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Uxbridge, per load....	10l.	0s.	17l.	0s.
Aylesbury... ditto.....	9l.	10s.	13l.	0s.
Newbury.....	44	0	—	63 0
Reading.....	38	0	—	56 0
Henley.....	40	0	—	52 0
Banbury.....	48	0	—	56 0
Devizes.....	33	0	—	64 0
Warminster.....	40	0	—	64 0
Sherborne.....	0	0	—	0 0
Dorchester, per load...	10l.	0s.	16l.	0s.
Exeter, per bushel....	6	6	—	7 3
Lewes.....	44	0	—	64 0
Guildford, per load....	11l.	0s.	17l.	0s.
Winchester, ditto....	0l.	0s.	0l.	0s.
Basingstoke.....	46	0	—	63 0
Chelmsford, per load..	9l.	0s.	15l.	10s.
Yarmouth.....	42	0	—	49 0
Birmingham.....	0	0	—	0 0
Lynn.....	36	0	—	52 0
Horncastle.....	40	0	—	50 0
Stamford.....	34	0	—	52 0
Northampton.....	44	0	—	52 0
Truro, 24 galls. to a bush.	18	0	—	0 0
Swansea, per bushel....	7	0	—	0 0
Nottingham.....	47	0	—	0 0
Derby, 34 quarts to bush.	48	0	—	56 0
Newcastle.....	32	0	—	56 0
Dalkeith, per boll *....	18	0	—	30 0
Haddington, ditto*....	22	0	—	31 0

* The Scotch boll is 3 per cent more than 4 bushels.

Liverpool, Oct. 14.—Since this day se'nnight prices of Grain and Flour have remained much the same in value as those then quoted, although in some instances there was, during the past week, a little improvement in the demand for Wheat and Oats at prices a shade higher. The market of this day was tolerably well attended, and sales of Wheat and Oats, although not to any considerable extent, were effected at fully the prices of last Tuesday. Other articles of

the trade were without alteration. —Imported into Liverpool, from the 7th to the 13th October 1823 inclusive; —Wheat 3105; Oats 4188; Barley 190; Malt 298; and Beans 25 quarters. Oatmeal 135 packs of 240 lbs. Flour 1105 sacks, and American barrels 1452.

Norwich, Oct. 18.—The growers were in some expectation of making things better than they actually turned out to-day; the buyers not being over anxious to agree to the advances demanded. Certainly prices were higher than last week, but our merchants did not buy freely, except Barley, good samples of which were much in request. Wheat, 40s. to 52s.; Barley, 24s. to 29s.; general runs of good, 28s.; and Oats, 20s. to 25s. per quarter.

Bristol, Oct. 18.—The sales of Corn here are rather more lively than they have been for some weeks past, and the prices of some kinds of Grain are rather improved. —Best Wheat from 7s. 6d. to 7s. 9d.; inferior ditto, 4s. 6d. to 6s. 6d.; Barley, 2s. 6d. to 3s. 5d.; Beans, 3s. to 5s.; Oats, 2s. to 3s.; and Malt, 4s. 6d. to 6s. 6d. per bushel. Flour, Seconds, 28s. to 46s. per bag.

Birmingham, Oct. 16.—More money was asked to-day for all kinds of Grain in good condition, but was not generally obtained; and, indeed, the Wheat market may be considered to have closed rather heavily. Beans, Barley, and Oats, sold pretty freely; the former at an advance of 6d. to 9d. per ten scores. Flour has risen 3s. per sack; sales dull.

Ipswich, Oct. 18.—Our market to-day was not largely supplied with any Grain. Prices were higher, as follow:—Old Wheat, 56s. to 60s.; New ditto, 40s. to 52s.; Barley, 25s. to 30s.; Peas, 28s.; and Oats, 24s. per quarter.

Wisbech, Oct. 18.—There was a short supply of samples of Wheat, the prime qualities of which only supported last week's prices. Oats are rather dull in sale. Mustard Seed barely supported last week's rates.

Boston, Oct. 15.—This day's market was well supplied with all sorts of Grain, which continues brisk in demand at last week's prices, and sold as follows:—Wheat, 40s. to 48s.; Oats, 14s. to 18s.; Beans, 34s. to 36s.; and Barley, 26s. to 28s. per quarter.

Wakefield, Oct. 17.—Our market has been well supplied with all descriptions of Grain. The quality of New Wheat being in general unfit for the use of the Millers, has caused a brisk demand for fine old quality, which may be quoted full 2s. per quarter dearer, and the best samples of new are likewise 1s. to 2s. higher. Barley, Oats, and Shelling, fully maintain last week's prices. Beans are brisk sale, at an advance of 1s. to 2s. per quarter. Rapeseed remains very heavy, without any alteration in prices.

SMITHFIELD, Monday, Oct. 20.

Per Stone of 8 pounds (alive).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	2	8	to	3 6
Mutton	3	0	—	3 8
Veal	3	8	—	4 10
Pork	4	0	—	5 0
Beasts	3,282		Sheep	21,860
Calves	1,480		Pigs	220

NEWGATE (same day).

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	2	0	to	3 0
Mutton	2	4	—	3 2
Veal	3	0	—	4 8
Pork	3	0	—	5 0

LEADENHALL (same day).

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	2	0	to	3 0
Mutton	2	6	—	3 2
Veal	3	4	—	4 8
Pork	3	0	—	5 0

City, 22 October 1823.

BACON.

There is very little demand for Bacon in this Market; but the jobbers are looking forward, and are making time bargains: with them profit "never is, but always to be" made. As we have often observed, a calm is the thing they most dread: there must be a bustle created by themselves, or they are in danger of being forgotten. The regular tradesman, however, is generally doing the most and the best sort of business when these men are idle.—On board, 32s. to 34s.—Land-ed, Old, 34s. to 38s.; New, 42s. to 44s.

BUTTER.

The stock here is very heavy, and, for the greater part, almost unsaleable, on account of its staleness, having been brought here during the hot weather; and there being enough of that which is fresh, for the demand for consumption. The trade being so unprofitable, some have been employing their

loose cash in buying Spanish Bonds. Before the failure of the Irish Banks in 1819, many of the Irish shippers were in the habit of speculating on their own account; but that event so crippled them, that they can now move only through the means which they derive from London. Speaking of the *stuteness* of the Butter reminds us of the origin of the law for compelling the shippers of Butter to send it in casks of a small size; a measure very injurious to the retail dealers, but more so, if possible, to the speculators; because, as they almost always keep the Butter until it got stale, the smaller the quantity in the cask, the sooner, of course, the Butter perishes. This Act originated with Sir John Newport, to serve a particular interest, and like all such things, is a general injury. The Committee should have this Act repealed.—
On board: Carlow, 77s. to 79s.—Belfast, 76s. to 77s.—Waterford, 72s. to 73s.—Dublin, 74s.—Cork, 72s. to 73s.—Limerick, 70s. to 71s.—Landed: Carlow, 78s. to 82s.—Belfast, 78s.—Waterford, 74s. to 75s.—Dublin, 74s. to 76s.—Cork, or Limerick, 74s.—Dutch, 74s. to 84s. (this article is losing from 10s. to 16s. per cwt.); Holstein, 70s. to 78s.—Bremen, 66s. to 68s.

CHEESE.

This branch is become as dull as the others: the factors will burn

their fingers, if they do not buy cautiously. Old Cheshire (fine), 74s. to 80s.; Middling, 60s. to 66s. New, 56s. to 63s.—Double, 56s. to 64s.—Single, 46s. to 58s.

POTATOES.

SPIRALHILLS.

Ware... 62s. to 64s.
Middlings... 1 15 — 2 0
Chats... 1 15 — 2 0
Common Red... 0 0 — 0 0
Onions... 0s. 0d. — 0s. 0d. per bush

BOSCOMBE.

Ware... 62s. to 64s.
Middlings... 1 10 — 2 0
Chats... 1 10 — 2 0
Common Red... 0 0 — 0 0
Onions... 0s. 0d. — 0s. 0d. per bush

HAY and STRAW, per Load.

Smithfield.—Hay... 80s. to 105s.
Straw... 40s. to 50s.
Clover 100s. to 120s.
St. James's.—Hay... 62s. to 110s.
Straw... 30s. to 40s.
Clover... 90s. to 112s.
Whitechapel.—Hay... 80s. to 115s.
Straw... 40s. to 50s.
Clover 110s. to 135s.

Price of HOPS, per Cwt. in the Borough.

Monday, Oct. 20.—Our market is at present dull, the holders of New Hops not being disposed to submit to the buyers' prices.—
Curreney, New Sussex, 11l. 11s. to 13l. 10s.; Kent, 12l. to 16l.; Sussex, 1822, 8l. to 9l. 9s.; Kent, 8l. 8s. to 11l. 11s. At Weyhill

Fair the quantity pitched was, Old, 883; New Country, 718; and New Farnham, 220; but few sold, the growers asking for Farnham, 20*l.* to 25*l.*; Country, 12*l.* to 17*l.*

Maidstone, Oct. 18.—At our Michaelmas Fair yesterday, there were a great many samples of Hops offered for sale; but to the great disappointment of the Planters, hardly any bargains were made. The unfavourable report from Weymouth Fair seemed to throw a general stagnation upon the trade, and in consequence we cannot say any thing about prices.

Worcester, Oct. 11.—The business doing in our market is yet very trivial. Good Hops of all dates fully support the highest prices hitherto quoted, and the large holders are keeping back in expectation of an advance. 1822's, 8*l.* 8*s.* to 10*l.* 10*s.* 1821's, 4*l.* 6*s.* to 5*l.*

COAL MARKET, Oct. 17.

Ships at Market. Ships sold. Price.
67 Newcastle.. 67 .. 37*s.* 0*d.* to 38*s.* 3*d.*
184 Sunderland.. 184 .. 42*s.* 6*d.* — 46*s.* 6*d.*

1822's, 8*l.* 8*s.* to 10*l.* 10*s.*
1821's, 4*l.* 6*s.* to 5*l.*
1820's, 3*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.* 10*s.*
1819's, 3*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.* 10*s.*
1818's, 3*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.* 10*s.*
1817's, 3*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.* 10*s.*
1816's, 3*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.* 10*s.*
1815's, 3*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.* 10*s.*
1814's, 3*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.* 10*s.*
1813's, 3*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.* 10*s.*
1812's, 3*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.* 10*s.*
1811's, 3*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.* 10*s.*
1810's, 3*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.* 10*s.*
1809's, 3*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.* 10*s.*
1808's, 3*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.* 10*s.*
1807's, 3*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.* 10*s.*
1806's, 3*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.* 10*s.*
1805's, 3*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.* 10*s.*
1804's, 3*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.* 10*s.*
1803's, 3*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.* 10*s.*
1802's, 3*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.* 10*s.*
1801's, 3*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.* 10*s.*
1800's, 3*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.* 10*s.*

1822's, 8*l.* 8*s.* to 10*l.* 10*s.*
1821's, 4*l.* 6*s.* to 5*l.*
1820's, 3*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.* 10*s.*
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1818's, 3*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.* 10*s.*
1817's, 3*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.* 10*s.*
1816's, 3*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.* 10*s.*
1815's, 3*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.* 10*s.*
1814's, 3*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.* 10*s.*
1813's, 3*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.* 10*s.*
1812's, 3*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.* 10*s.*
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1807's, 3*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.* 10*s.*
1806's, 3*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.* 10*s.*
1805's, 3*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.* 10*s.*
1804's, 3*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.* 10*s.*
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1802's, 3*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.* 10*s.*
1801's, 3*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.* 10*s.*
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1817's, 3*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.* 10*s.*
1816's, 3*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.* 10*s.*
1815's, 3*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.* 10*s.*
1814's, 3*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.* 10*s.*
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1800's, 3*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.* 10*s.*

CHEESE

This cheese is known as the others: the factors will purchase it at 11*l.* 11*s.* At Weymouth

COBBETT'S WEEKLY REGISTER.

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A LETTER FROM THE PEOPLE OF SPAIN TO THE JEWS AND JOBBERS.

*On the abuse, which the Jew and
Jobber Press of London has
poured forth on the Spanish
Nation for expressing their joy
at the recent events in Spain.*

Madrid, 24 October, 1823.

JEWS AND JOBBERS,

LOAN-MAKERS, fabricators of
paper-coin, you who make for-
tunes of a million of money by
“watching the turn of the mar-
ket,” obdurate extortioners, grind-
ers of the labouring man, choicest
agents of the borough-villany,
true descendants of the money-
changing murderers of Jesus
Christ, we have read some of the

abuse, which you have poured
forth upon us through the columns
of that vile thing, the London
press, of a large part of which
you are the owners, and almost
all the rest of which you have
in your pay; we have read this
foul abuse; and we will now, with
as much coolness as we can com-
mand, give you an answer; and
then leave the world to judge
between us. Some time ago, the
“People of France,” in conse-
quence of your long-continued
and unprovoked abuse, addressed
a polite remonstrance to you;
bade you look at home; and did,
in fact, nearly quiet you, as far
as related to France. We are
not presumptuous enough to think,
that we shall silence you; for,
compared with your incessant
noise, what is that of the falls of
Niagara? To produce in you

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either silence, or shame, is far beyond any power that we pretend to possess; but, we rely on our power to render your falsehoods and malice harmless by an exposure of them to the impartial amongst mankind.

Your malignity towards us is perfectly natural. We have escaped from your grasp; and you are now cursing us, as the fox did the cock, when the latter had got on the limb of a tree from out of the jaws of the former. We shall presently advert to the particular heads of your abuse; or, at least, to a part of them: but, the plain, general view of the matter is this: A set of men, acting under the names of *liberty* and *toleration*, having got hold of the powers of government in Spain, were mortgaging, or selling, the lands of Spain to you, the vile Jews and Jobbers of London, and were mortgaging to you the labour of all Spaniards for ages to come! This they call *liberty* and *toleration*. We did not like that the Jews and Jobbers of London should possess

our lands, and drink our sweat and blood. If the English call it "*liberty*" to have the labour of the child in the cradle mortgaged to Jews and Jobbers, we do not; and, if this be *liberty*, we desire to be *slaves*. We, therefore, rejoice, that this set of men have been put down; and that the *bonds* and *mortgages*, which they had given you on our lands and our sweat, have been cancelled for ever.

Thus have we taken a general view of the cause of our joy and of your anger against us; and we will now, as we proposed, advert to some of the particular heads of your abuse of us. You revile us for rejoicing at what you call the overthrow of our constitution and the conquest of our country by the French. As to *constitution*, we have just explained what that word meant; namely, a system of government by which the land and labour of Spain were made over to the Jews and Jobbers of London; a system by which we were rendered free from all obe-

alliance to our own native King, and by which we were rendered slaves to you, the Jews and Jobbers of London. So much for constitution. We care nothing about the name of it; it might call itself free as long as it pleased: its authors might say, that we could not be free without having our lands and our labour sold to the Jews and Jobbers of London: they might say what they pleased about this. The effect of the thing is all that we care about; and we did not believe that selling us to the Jews and Jobbers of London made us free; or, at any rate, if that were freedom, we did not want to be free.

Then, as to the change being produced by foreign troops, which you choose to represent as a conquest made of our country by those foreigners; as to this matter, you conquered Spain yourselves in the year 1814, if the French have conquered it now; and, it is curious enough, that, when you had the possession and command of our country, and a

large part of us were fighting with you against revolutionists, you then praised our efforts, and, what is very singular, you said we were fighting for independence, though, in fact, we were fighting for you. Strange, that, when we had King JOSEPH here, when he was putting down convents and priests, you called his conduct *sacriligious*; you hallooed us on to drive him out; but now, when the French have come to help us to put down others, who were doing what King JOSEPH was doing, you call it *sacriligious* in the French, and abuse us for rejoicing at their success! What can be the cause of this? We will tell you: King JOSEPH did not mortgage our land and our labour to the Jews and Jobbers of London: if he had, you would have been for King JOSEPH; and upon the same ground, you would be for King Devil.

But, we have not yet done with this charge against us, of rejoicing at the conquest of our country by foreigners. If a monstrous tyranny

be existing in any country; if one man or a set of men, have been able to get a band of armed wretches together, and feed and clothe those wretches well, in order to keep the people of the country in slavery, the people of such country are not only justified in rejoicing at their deliverance by the hands of foreigners, but are in duty bound to call in and to assist such foreigners. If you deny this, what becomes of the character of Englishmen? To be sure you are a privileged nation: you are licensed to do any thing that you please; and to revile the rest of mankind for daring to think about doing what you do. But, still, there was a *Dutchman* that did go over to England, only about a hundred and thirty-five years ago, who took fifteen thousand Dutch soldiers along with him, who fought against and beat some of the English, who was not only received with acclamations of joy, but who, being a Dutchman, without one single drop of English blood in his veins, was

made King of England; and remained King of England for life, though the real King of England and his heirs were alive all the time: this happened only about a hundred and thirty-five years ago: this you do not call a *conquest* of England, though it was much more of a conquest than that which has now taken place in Spain. This you do not call a conquest of England; but a "*glorious* revolution;" and the Dutchman you call your "*deliverer*"!

Wonderful nation! wonderful Jews and Jobbers! Your *modesty* exceeds every thing belonging to you. Your attachment to *liberty* is very great. Your *justice* is equally conspicuous; but your *modesty* passeth all understanding. Your Dutchman brought you a "*glorious* revolution;" the Duke d'ANGOULEME has "*conquered*" us! Modest Jews and Jobbers, let us see a little how this matter stands. The Dutchman, soon after he had delivered you, was placed on your King's Throne. He soon began to give away to

some of his *Dutch followers* the lands and possessions belonging to the Crown of England. He had not been in the country but a short time before he began that system of borrowing which has, at last, created the intolerable burdens which now press the once happy people of England, Ireland, and Scotland, to the earth. Here, then, is the great difference between *your deliverer* and *our deliverer*: yours began that system, which has mortgaged all the lands of your country, which has mortgaged the labour of your children now in the cradle, to that hellish tribe of Jews and Jobbers, who amass fortunes of a million by watching the turn of the market, whose extortions and grindings have reduced the most industrious people upon the face of the earth to a state of half-starvation; while our deliverer, has freed us from those "*bonds*" of incipient extortion and robbery, which would, in due course of time, have made us wretched, toiling, weeping, melancholy, half-starved, and half-naked slaves.

But, why need we go so far back, if we want a precedent for the introducing of foreign troops into our country? One of your newspapers, the *Morning Chronicle* of not long ago, has this remark: "From the present aspect of affairs in Spain, there is certainly little chance of either the principal or the interest of the Spanish Debt ever being paid; for an *idle priesthood* and *foreign soldiers* will, in future, be sufficient to consume all the productive labours of the people." We said before that the English were a *wonderful* people; and wonderful they certainly are: they must be hoodwinked to a far greater degree than any people that ever existed before, or even this London pressman would not have dared to put this upon paper.

We will leave the *idle priesthood* to be talked of by and by, and will, in this place, make a remark or two upon this idea of the people of Spain being, in part at least, eaten up by foreign sol-

diers. What, base and lying London press, do you forget the period from 1793 to 1815? Do you forget the army of foreigners stationed, during the greater part of that time, in Great Britain and Ireland? Do you forget, stupid and ignorant men, the commands which foreign generals had in the heart of your country? Do you forget, that German Generals had, for years, the command of *English Counties*, that they reviewed the troops in those counties; that even the English regiments of Militia were under their command, were reviewed by them, and that men calling themselves English Gentlemen and Noblemen, marched along by them, abused their swords, pulled off their hats, and lowered the English colours, as they passed them: ignorant, impudent, base and time-serving men, have you forgotten these things; or do you think that they have been forgotten by the world? Nay, have you forgotten the flogging of English Local Militia men at the Town of ELY in England, under a guard of German bayonets? and have you forgotten, that, an Englishman, for having expressed his indignation at this, was put into a felons' gaol for two years, was made to pay a fine of a thousand pounds

to a King of the House of Brunswick; and was after that held in bonds for seven years? Have you forgotten this; or, remembering it, have you the scandalous effrontery to represent Spaniards as degraded because the troops of a friendly nation remain for a time stationed on their soil? The foreign troops were brought into your country without any civil war or commotion being then in existence. But, as we observed before, yours is a wonderful nation. It is an exception to the general rule. Principles and maxims which apply to all other nations, have nothing at all to do with it. Hence it is that a Dutchman may go over with fifteen thousand Dutchmen, and may place himself on the English Throne: the event is "*glorious*," and he is a "*deliverer*." Hanoverian troops may be stationed in England for years; Hanoverian Generals may command English Counties; and Englishmen may be flogged in the heart of England under a guard of German bayonets. All this may take place without affording the slightest ground for suspicion, that the English people are *enslaved* or *degraded*; but if a relation of our King come, not to take the crown to himself, but merely to settle a dispute between him

and a part of his people, and without any flogging going on, or any talk about flogging: oh! then, we Spaniards are the most cowardly, the most base, the most degraded wretches upon the face of the earth! Jews and Jobbers, stop till you hear of Spaniards being flogged under a guard of French bayonets; stop till you hear of that stupid and base London press, before you again make an outcry about the produce of our labour being consumed by "*foreign soldiers*."

For the present, we will, with your leave, good Jews and Jobbers, turn from the "*foreign soldiers*," and come to the "*idle priesthood*." This would make a pretty long chapter of itself; but we shall endeavour to shorten it. An "*idle priesthood*" is what we by no means approve of; but to speak of that presently, what is it that you complain of here? Why, it is this, that the Spanish Debt will not be paid, because the idle priesthood will eat up the fruits of the productive labour of the people. We say that we do not approve of an idle priesthood; but we also say that to the most lazy, the most profligate, the most debauched, the most worthless set of of priests that ever existed upon earth, we would give the fruits of

our labour, rather than give them to that band of cruel monsters, that crew of hardened villains, the dealers in loans and scrip and omnium and pence; that hellish tribe, who, from carrying a pencil-box, rise up to the fortune of a million of money, merely by watching the turn of the market. We say that there is nothing that can be imagined under the name of priest, to whom we would not give the fruit of our labour rather than give it to these monsters, who and whose associates, the thoroughmongers, have brought the people of once happy England to a state of wretchedness absolutely without any parallel.

But, we do not admit the truth of what you say, or, at least, of a large part of what you say, respecting the idleness of our priests. We must presume you to mean that *your priests are not idle*; or else it is monstrous impudence in you to abuse us for not putting down ours on account of their idleness. Our priests are in their churches by day-light, summer as well as winter. Their performances may not be approved of by you; but, at any rate, they are going on while your priests are in bed, or nodding over a breakfast table, stuffing their maws and reading newspapers. No matter

for the present which is the religion of Jesus Christ and which is not : clear it is, that if our priests be idle, you are the most cowardly wretches upon the face of the earth ; for not a word do you say about the fatness, and the eleven o'clock going to church of your own. Ours actually *teach all the children* ; actually teach them all themselves, without the aid of trumpery establishments called National Schools, without canting subscriptions to be sent to a wine and gin merchant of the metropolis to promote Christian knowledge amongst the people. Our priests who *really* visit all the sick, suffer none to die without giving them such consolation as they are able to give. Is this the case with yours ? Do they visit the sick ? Let the English people answer that question. As to *humility*, that characteristic so becoming in a priest, it is possible that ours may not be very humble in their hearts ; but, in their *dress*, in their outward appearance, at any rate, they are humble ; and in their *manners towards their flocks*, where is the comparison between them and yours ? Each of our priests has not a lady wife to be the mistress of the parish. In short, to hear you talk of our idle priesthood, who would imagine

that you yourselves had a priesthood, really *consuming forty times as much as ours*, and not performing a fortieth part of the labour ?

This accusation against us, of supporting a parcel of lazy monks and drones and priests might come with something like decency from a nation that gave nothing to a priesthood ; and in answer to *such a nation*, we, perhaps, should have very little to say. But to you we have a great deal to say upon this subject. You seem to have a great antipathy to *convents*. The truth is, you want them to yourselves ; and you are now mad with disappointment at having had them wrested from you. "The lazy drones of monks," says one of your newspapers. Another says, "Our readers, who are so much surprised at the joy expressed by the Spaniards at the success of the French, do not reflect on the influence of the priests in a country where people are content to be *fed by alms at the doors of convents*." This is borrowed from that romance writer, HUME, who, in his account of the insurrection which arose at the suppression of the convents in the reign of the old tiger, HENRY the Eighth, says, that the people, accustomed to be fed on alms at the doors of the

convents, naturally had a regard for the *drones* that inhabited them. And yet they call this lying fellow an *historian*!

These writers *prove too much*, as the lawyers call it; that is to say, speaking properly, tell *two lies at a time*, one of which is too many, because it defeats the intention of the other. Here we have (in the case before us), *drones that live in convents, feeding a lazy people at the convent doors*. Where the devil, then, does the food come from? Here is a *lazy* people and here are convents of *drones*; and one gives the other food! There needs no more than this to show that HUME, and that all the Protestant writers, the greater part of whom have been English parsons, have dealt in most monstrous exaggerations.

It may be a question, admitting of much to be said on both sides, whether there ought any where to be a church established by law; it may be a question, whether there ought to be any public collections, under the name of tithes or under any other name for the support of a priesthood. But, if there be a priesthood maintained by tithes, and other church property, is the priesthood to be *reviled* because it gives a large part of its income back to the people in the shape of

alms! Is it to be *reviled* for this? Is it the *worse* for feeding the hungry with a portion of its income? It may be proper to new model the church of Spain; nay, to overthrow it; the priesthood may be very bad; but are we to look upon its giving bread to the hungry; are we to look upon its sharing its income with the poor; are we to look upon this as making it *more worthy* of our hatred and contempt? If this be the case, how must the parsons of the Church of England be *loved* and *respected*!

The short view of the matter is this: in England you have tithes; you have Easter Offerings; you have burial, christening and marrying fees; your clergy have two, three, four or five benefices each; one of your bishops receives as much annually as ten or twelve of ours: your church, in short, costs you *eight millions of guineas a year*. Our church costs us, probably, a quarter part of the sum. A full half of that quarter part is, probably, given back to the people; and you, modest Jews and Jobbers, *revile* our priesthood on account of their *idleness* and their *alms*. Devoured as your country is by priests, you have the modesty to reproach us for not reducing our priests to beggary, for the sake of

getting at their incomes, to put those incomes into your pockets.

On the score of *priests*, above all things, you might have been silent, while PARSON HAY, DR. COLTON, and other Parson-Justices, stood so plainly before the world. You might have kept your reproaches, on this head, for your own use, while BISHOP JOCHLYN, (scarcely of the fat placeman, Earl of Bades), was so fully in the eyes of Europe. To be sure Parsons JARVIS, and CLAYE have been found "*Not Guilty*;" but, even that ought not, one would think, to encourage you to revile us for not starving our priests for the sake of giving you their incomes. You say nothing against your own priests and their fat livings. Nay, if we be rightly informed, not a few of your priests have dealt in "*Spanish Bonds*," in order to get large interest for their money! And now you call it *fraud*; you call it *robbery*, for us to refuse to pay the debts contracted by the "*patriots*," who had sold our soil and our labour to foreigners! What is it, a breach of honour in us to keep that which these base men have not yet taken from us? Is it a breach of honour to reacte ourselves from this *real slavery*? We have been sold by traitors, calling themselves "*patriots*," and

are we to be accused of a breach of honour, because we will not ratify the bargain?

But, to return to the *priests*, for a moment: your foul tongues spare nobody that thwarts your greedy purposes, and, therefore, it is quite natural that you should abuse our priests, whom you find not disposed to give up their incomes to you. But, let us bring you to the test. Can you find in *Spain*, or in any *Catholic* country; can you find, in the history of the *Catholic Church*; can you find, in all the *Catholic* countries in the world, or in the records of them all, an account of any priest like PARSON MORRITT of SKIBBEREEN? Poh! you base London press! You have the audacity to revile us, because we do not put down our church, while you uphold the church of which PARSON MORRITT is a priest! Base London press! You revile us because we do not approve of destroying a church, which you yourselves say feeds the poor at the doors of convents, while you revile COMBETT, and call him *robber*, for proposing to lessen the income of a church which sends out armed men to collect tithes, and which causes bloody battles to be fought on such occasions. PARSON MORRITT,

your newspapers tell us, had, after the battle of SKIBBEREEN, got six hundred warrants for seizures for tithes! He is no "drone," at any rate. Poh! you blackguards of the London press: exposure is thrown away upon you. To blows, to real corporeal blows only, you are sensible; and we are at too great a distance from you to deal you these. You shameless fools! you have a church, which takes away, and gives nothing back, eight millions sterling a-year; which takes away more than all the rest of the churches in the world; which, besides this, has, for about sixteen years, had a hundred thousand pounds a-year out of the taxes, to relieve the poor clergy, while your bishops die with three or four hundred thousand pounds each: you have a church like this, and yet, you base and impudent London press, you revile us, because we do not put down our church, which costs not a fortieth part of the cost of yours, and the clergy of which, instead of getting money out of our taxes, give back to the poor a large part of their incomes, for which they are calumniated by you! Verily, you are the most profligately impudent of all mankind.

We are aware, that some of

the London press will say, that they do not like the Parson Morrish tribe and Parson Hay tribe any more than they like our priests. Come, then; let us talk to this gentry. You do not like Parson Morrish of Skibbereen, and Parson Hay of Manchester? No. You wish to get rid of tithes? Yes. Why do you not do it, then? We are not able. Not able? What! not able to get rid of any part of a burden forty times as heavy as ours; not able, and yet revile us, because we do not get rid of ours! Ah! you base slaves; but we remember, that, when COBBETT proposed to get rid of only a part of the burden, the whole of you joined stupid COKE and HARBOARD in abusing and reviling him, in calling him church-robber; and, yet you have the impudence now to revile us, because we do not confiscate the whole of our church property! We like to be mannerly: after you, therefore. You begin, and we may follow. When you have put an end to battles of Skibbereen, and to bishops leaving behind them three or four hundred thousand pounds each; then come to us (and it will be quite soon enough) and talk to us about our clergy.

“Ah, but *“the Inquisition!”* Yes; here we were sure to have you at once hypocritical and insolent reproaches. *“The Inquisition;”* the *“dark,”* the *“cruel,”* Inquisition! And, we have hailed, with shouts of joy, the re-establishment of the Inquisition. Now, if we must have the *Inquisition*, or the *Jews*, we say, at once, give us the Inquisition. The latter *burned* now-and-then a man: the Jews and Jobbers *starve hundreds of thousands to death*. If we must have the Inquisition, or a *“Reformation”* that would bring us parsons Morrilt and parsons Hay and battles of Skibbereen; we say, at once, gave us the Inquisition, which, during the last thirty years, has not inflicted so much bodily punishment as the *tithe-owners* in Ireland cause to be inflicted in one single day; nay, in the whole thirty years, has not shed so much blood as was shed in an hour, by those who went armed, at Skibbereen, to collect Parson MORRETT’S tithes.

You represent us as made *poor, miserable, wretched*, by the priests, and as made *slaves* by the Inquisition. As to *poverty* and *misery*, are there on the whole earth, creatures so poor and miserable as those who labour in your country? We appeal to the records of your

famous *“House of Commons,”* as it is curiously called. In a Report, on the State of Ireland, it is said: *“26,845 persons, in the County of Clare, were supported at an expense of not quite one penny each per day!”* Go, you hypocrites! Go: find misery like that in any country except your own; find that, before, base hypocrites as you are, you pretend to *pity* the lot of other nations. In very little better state are the labourers of *once happy England*, where, before the hellish Jew and Jobber system began, men had all things to make life easy and happy. The Chancellor, FORTESCUE, who wrote in the reign of Henry the Sixth, has, in speaking of the state of England, these words: *“The inhabitants of England are rich in all the necessaries and conveniences of life. They drink no water, unless at certain times, upon a religious score. They are fed in great abundance, with all sorts of flesh and fish, of which they have plenty every where. They are clothed throughout in good woollens. Of bedding and other furniture they have great store. Every one according to his rank, and all things which conduce to make life easy and happy.”* This was your country, base hirelings

of the London press: this was your country before loans and funds and Jews and Jobbers were known amongst you. This was your country in the "dark ages." In your now enlightened state, hear your country described in a Report to your own Parliament: "A large portion of the peasantry live in a state of misery of which he could have formed no conception, not imagining that any human beings could exist in such wretchedness; their cabins scarcely contain an article that can be called furniture; in some families there are no such things as bed-clothes, the peasants showed some fern, and a quantity of straw thrown over it, upon which they slept in their working clothes, yet, whenever they had a meal of potatoes, they were cheerful; the greater part he understood to drink nothing but water."

That is your country, base hypocrites and cowards. Another witness says that the peasantry were found "offering to work for the merest subsistence that could be obtained, for *twopence a day*, in short, for any thing that would purchase food enough to keep them alive for twenty-four hours!" And with this before your face; with this put into your

vile newspapers, you have the insolence and the hypocrisy to affect to pity other nations on account of their misery, when there is not a country in the whole world containing a thousandth part of the misery which your country contains. If English writers had any shame in them, would they ever dare to talk of the miseries of other nations? And if English Ministers had any shame, where would they hide their heads, when they see what England is compared to what it was?

But some unfeeling monster of the London press will say, this report relates to Ireland and not to England. And what then? Are not the Irish your fellow-subjects? Is not Ireland part of your kingdom; do not you include its people in your boasted population? Do you not employ the resources of Ireland and the valour of Irishmen? However, Norfolk is in England; you will not, we suppose, deny that. The clergy in Norfolk are not guilty of the offence of "feeding the lazy people at convent doors" if they are not guilty of that as our "drones" are. They do not feed the people at convent doors, or at any other doors that we hear of; but they make out a scale for supporting them as paupers; and, in

the hundreds of Ladder and Gile: the labouring people, to spend a
 a day; they and the landowners of day; each the soldiers in England
 on the country; allow to a man his and Ireland; the very payment of
 the soldiers, have thirteen-pence
 a day; besides house, firing,
 candle, and clothing; for any
 one had told old Farnese, that
 the day would come when this
 would be the state of England,
 instead of being the state of
 France; what would he have
 said? But, what would he have
 said; then, if he had been told
 that there would be a press in
 London so beggary as to boast of
 this state of things, and to affect
 to pity other nations, on account
 of their miseries! Wretched men
 of the London press; wretched
 hirings of Jews and Jobbers:
 do you not know that the common
 foot soldier, who is employed to
 preserve "social order" in Ire-
 land, do you not know, vile men,
 that this common foot soldier has
 thirteen-pence a day, beside house,
 bedding, firing, candle, and cloth-
 ing; do you not know this; and
 do you not hear all the witnesses
 declare to the Committee of the
 House of Commons, that the dis-
 turbances in Ireland, arise solely
 from the people being in a state
 of want; do you not see the sol-
 dier having more than six times
 as much a day as the labouring
 man, besides house, bedding,

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fringe, candle, and clothing; do you because this analysis is the summary of your whole proposed to take one single thing from the soldier, or give one single thing to the debaucher? No, we go too far, this, his saying, that you are the basest of creatures that ever dishonoured the human shape! and to justice.

But, the "Inquisition?" we shall not easily choke you off from that. "The dark," the "ever?" Inquisition? "We return to our challenge." "We care nothing about you." It is the thing that we look at. "Inquisition is nothing of itself. It is what the Inquisition does." Now, then, you, doubtless, wish us to exchange the Inquisition for something like that which you have. We will not let you off here. You must not attempt to sneak out by saying that you do not approve of your own story. We say: if you do not approve of it, why not alter it? And if you say that you are not able to alter it; then we desire you not to meddle with our thing till you are able to alter your own. Upon this ground we proceed to repeat our challenge; and we challenge you to show that as much suffering, as much corporeal suffering has been occasioned by this Inquisition during the last

thirty years, as was produced, a few weeks ago, in one single day at Guernsey. But attending must be your impudence to talk about the Inquisition in Spain, when every day's post brings us news of men transported from Ireland, merely for being absent from their houses from sunset to sunrise. From one single session, and all in a lump, without judge, without jury, and only by a lawyer appointed by the Government and by what are called Magistrates, ELEVEN MEN, were sentenced to transportation, on the fourteenth of this month of October at Cork. The CRIME of these men was being absent from their dwelling-house on Sunday the fifth of October. "When the sentence was passed," says the account, "the court resounded with the shrieks of their wives, children, parents and friends, who were most numerous; and those shrieks continued along the streets on their way to the goal."

Now, you base and scandalous hirelings of the London press, will you after this, rail at us and revile us because we tolerate an Inquisition, which has not inflicted so much punishment as this in thirty years. Go, you hypocrites; hear the tale of JOSEPH

SWANN, his wife and children; remember *Castles, Oliver, and Edwards*; remember their fates and the consequent proceedings; and then, while you give an account of these to the world, repeat, if you dare, your railings against the Spanish Inquisition.

Here we should take our leave of you; but we have a few words to say to you, relative to our colonies in America. You have sent, it seems, consuls or envoys to those colonies, who are, it is said, to acknowledge them as *Independent States*. It is odd enough that this should come into your heads, or, rather, into the head of your Government, just at this time, when we shall be soon getting ready to resume our sway in those colonies. Some years ago, you might have acknowledged the independence of these colonies with some chance of success: to do it now is a thing too foolish to have been thought of by anybody in this world but your Government. The truth is, that your wise Ministers, when they made preparations for sending out these consuls and envoys, did not think that Cadiz would surrender so soon by six months. They thought, that it would surrender *at last*; but that they should be able to mix up a mess

of intervention and mediation and *mutual amity* and *social order* and *national faith*; that they should be able to manage to mix up a mess of this sort, to prolong the civil war in Spain, to exhaust the French, to excite discontents in France, just sufficient to keep the French Government in check, to make our slavery quite complete, to cause great and long troubles in the colonies, to open a way for their agents to work in all quarters, and thus to get an outlet for their manufactures and employment for their merchant ships, so as to enable them to get money into their exchequer, and to get along under the Debt without annoyance from France.

This was, doubtless, what they expected to be able to do. The rapid movements of the French General; his most judicious measures, and the consequent sudden termination of the contest, have blown into air the schemes of the pretty gentlemen of Whitehall, whose consuls will, we venture to say, return much more quickly than they went out. It looks more like madness than any thing else, to suppose that France and Spain are going to suffer the mines of Mexico and Peru, any more than our tithes and convents, to fall into

the hands of the Jews and Jobbers of London. The "*Patriots*" of South America have made Chilian Bonds and Columbian Bonds, in imitation of the makers of Spanish Bonds; that is to say, those "*Patriots*" have been selling the soil and the labour of those countries to you, the Jews and Jobbers of London. This being the case, it is impossible for any man in his senses to believe that those countries must not desire to be freed from the freedom bestowed on them by these patriots. The re-occupation of Lima by the Royal troops is quite sufficient to convince any one that the people of the country wish to be ridded of the "*Patriots*," who, whatever they might be at first, have now manifestly become a set of ruthless plunderers.

Little difficulty will, therefore, attend the restoration of the colonies to order and to obedience. A few ships and a small land force, well appointed and under able generals, may do the whole thing, and drive away to NEW YORK, or to ROSEMARY-LANE, all the "*heroes*" and all the loan-makers of liberty; together with all their Judges of Vice-Admiralty Courts, all their Privy Councillors, taken from Petticoat-lane, or from out of the ranks of the Westminster Rump.

If France and Spain and Portugal; or, if only the two former come to a determination to put down the pretended new States of South America, a curious dilemma will arise. Will Mr. CANNING make common cause with the "*Patriots*," or will he quietly see them hanged. There is, however, no question here; he can make common cause with nobody and with nothing that needs powder and ball at his hands. He pretended, that his last despatch to Monsieur CHATEAUBRIAND, previous to the march of the French army into Spain; he pretended that that despatch was a protest against the military occupation of Spain by France. Well, then, if that were a *protest*, why does he not now go to war? War! Never can England go to war again while it has a National Debt, amounting to a tenth part as much as the present Debt amounts to. This is now known to all the world: it can be no longer disguised: upon what ground, then, is England to go to war, and who is to help her in a war, to prevent the Colonies of Spain from being restored to their Sovereign?

We here bid you farewell, Jews and Jobbers. We think that we have said enough to induce you to look at home, before

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you again trouble yourselves with our foreign soldiers, priests and Inquisition. If the people of England had sense and spirit, they would break "*the bonds*" in which you hold them; but that is their affair and not ours. Having freed ourselves from this Jew and Jobber craft, which is a thousand times worse than Priestcraft and Kingcraft both joined together, we shall, with regard to the good people of England, content ourselves with offering up for their deliverance the sincere prayers of the

PEOPLE OF SPAIN.

THE FRENCH AND MR. CANNING.

THE French, who said nothing, in their public papers, in February last, about the "*noisy speeches and bullocking paragraphs*," now open their minds a little, of which opening the following paragraph, from the *Oriflamme* (a Paris paper) of last Saturday is a pretty good specimen. Let my readers look well at it. It is seldom that I quote from the French papers; but, this paragraph is of *real importance*.

"The system of the English Cabinet is to insulate itself, politically

as well as geographically, from the rest of Europe. What is the result for his honour and interests, of this apathy? What other people or Government thank England for it? Her policy is covered with a veil, which a Minister (the Earl of LIVERPOOL) raised when he said that, *menaced by two great evils*, England should *do every thing in her power to avoid both*. But what mind can reconcile the *delirium* of another English Minister (MR. CANNING), who, more indiscreet even in the House of Commons than in the Cabinet, dared publicly to express a wish for the success of the revolutionary cause? *The madman!* If Heaven had granted his impious wish, the Government of England would have passed into the hands of HUNT and BURPETT!

Wanting courage to avow an opinion and strength to maintain it, the men who govern the destinies of England have recourse to the *arms of the weak*—the pen and the tongue. The vaults of Westminster have echoed their speeches, the offices has been choked up with despatches, the roads covered with couriers, and nothing has been done which the shade of a PITT or a CHATHAM would not blush to avow. But a glorious exploit has crowned the labours of him who inherited the inkstand of these great men—the diplomacy of Downing-street succeeded in disposing of an illusory promise of protection to the Cortes for a sum of 40 millions of rials; but not a vessel, not a soldier, could the constitutionalists obtain—the English Cabinet withheld all but advice and projects of Constitutions.

But the sword of a BOURBON has broken the bands of intrigue. The Continent of Europe has beheld with joy the great blow struck by France, whilst, alone in the universe, the British nation knows not whether to be rejoiced or afflicted. Indifferent, however, to the uneasiness of this double-faced nation, the other Powers cry,

“Misfortune to those, who do not declare themselves friends or enemies. Every body abandons them in the hour of danger.”

This is pretty *taunting*! What, talk thus so soon after having been “conquered!” If this be the case, we shall do well to *abstain* from conquering France another time. Where is our “greatest Captain?” Why does he not come forth, covered with his shield of *Achilles*, and kill these saucy French!—Now, reader, do you not *enjoy* this *taunting*? I do exceedingly! It is, in fact, little more than I said in February last. Oh! “The vaults of Westminster have echoed the speeches.” This is, really, almost *too good*! “Not a vessel; not a soldier.” Good! Excellent! Sweet for the *Pitt-Clubs* and for the Pilot of the Pilot that *weathered the storm*! How I should like to see him (he not seeing me) while reading this paragraph! “Woe unto them that do not declare themselves *friends*, or *enemies*.” But, come, Mr. Frenchman, you are a little unreasonable: our people cannot wish You to have Spain and South America: they cannot be your *friends* in such enterprises: and, as to being *enemies*, as to *fighting* you, the very *idea* of it would blow their funds into the air and themselves to God knows whither.

—It appears to me, that the game is going to begin again of raising and lowering the English funds as the French Government pleases. *It can now do just what it pleases in this way.* If I were the French Minister, I would have fifty millions of English stock my property, or, the property of my King, in six months’ time. I could raise and lower the English funds at my pleasure; and I would do it to some tune! Our Government could by no means prevent it, except by going to war; and that it cannot do without blowing up the Debt; and, if it blow up the Debt, away goes Church, and God knows what besides.—Now, you beasts of the *Pitt-Clubs*, look at this. —You praise the Ministers for their conduct with regard to Spain: look at what the *Bourbons* say of that conduct; your old and tried friends, the *Bourbons*.—It may be some time before the French will *openly avow* their intentions as to South America: when they do it, we shall, I imagine, see a little *stir* in the funds, and amongst the cheating vagabonds of ‘Change Alley, who get noblemen’s estates by “watching the turn of the market.” If the poor things who have our affairs in their hands; if the “inheritor of the inland of

and he charged, in his turn, to see that the work was done on account of his having performed the job in the English fashion, which is a little different from the French. I have not some time on my hands, so went to see the place, about a mile from St. Omer, which was once the convent of a community of Carmelite Monks. This convent formerly possessed a great deal of wealth and much of the land of the surrounding country. That part of the land which is yet undivided, along with the remains of the convent and the gardens, now belong to a gentleman of the name of Denis, who is the postmaster at St. Omer, and who was so polite as to let me look at the gardens and the comparatively little that is now to be seen of the ancient building. The greater part of the building appears to be entirely destroyed. There is still, however, a very commodious house remaining of it, some of which, in places that have not been patched up in a modern fashion, has a very venerable appearance. The remains of the once grand convent, near to which is the modest looking dwelling of Mr. Denis, are now made use of as the farm house of the estate, being environed by cart-houses, sheds, pigsty, and the like,

with which simple offices the altered aspect of the convent itself very well corresponds. The gardens are protected by their old walls, most of which are in good repair, and in these gardens I saw a great deal of fine fruit, though there did not seem to be much care bestowed on its cultivation. The *Rippel d'or* and a large apple they call the *Cabot*, were the best of the apples I saw; but the pears, the *Chêne*, the *Cuisse-Dame*, and a pear called the *Manette*, were, I think, the finest pears I have ever seen, and grew here in great abundance. Excepting these fruits, there was not much vegetation in the garden, worth speaking of. I saw a little *faux bridge* (without any water under it), and a little mound of earth, which I must not forget to mention, because the gardener informed me that there had been made an imitation of the taste of our English gardeners. The French gardeners, however, did not appear to have been enamoured of the bridge for a long while, for I could see that it was going to ruin very fast. There was a good patch of potatoes in this garden; and a plantation of young elm-trees. The elm-tree is much planted here, alongside of roads and lanes, about houses,

and in many of the fields; and these young trees that I saw, were intended to be planted out, in this way, on the estate.—This town, *St. Omers*, has a population of 21,000; 3000 of whom are estimated as *English people*. There is a good deal of manufacturing done in this town, of *cloth, glue, leather, starch, soap*, and some other things. There is a *college*, and a *playhouse*; to the latter of which institutions I saw the citizens crowding yesterday, *Sunday*, evening.

ST. POL; 13 leagues from *St. Omers*, *Tuesday*, 14th Oct.—Coming out of *St. Omers* this morning I took notice of a fine old church, which, I was informed, used to be called the Church of the *Jesuits*. I perceived some strong marks of the Revolution upon its exterior, which is, in general, much defaced, while the gothic window-places, to keep out the weather, are filled up, in the stead of glass, by a negligent application of some old *hurdles* and *straw*. The interior of the church is converted into a *riding-school*, and a place in which to *break in young horses*!—Fine weather to-day.—The neighbourhood of *St. Omers* has a fine rich soil, and the views about it are pretty.—Came through the towns of *Aire*,

of *Lillers*, the village of *Pernes*, to the town of *St. Pol*. *Aire* is a fortified town of considerable size, in which there are some *manufactures*, like those of *St. Omer*. It is situated on the confluence of the rivers *Lys* and *Laquette*. *LILLERS* is a place of no note, in particular, on the river *Navez*; and *PERNES* is a place rather larger than *Lillers*, but in which I could see nothing very interesting; as, indeed, I may say of most of the little places in this part of the country that I see, for, except in their situation, or the views that surround them, they very seldom have any beauty belonging to them. The country towns and villages, unlike the generality of those in England, are dirty looking, and confined in their streets. These places have, however, almost without an exception, plenty of trees of different kinds planted about them; and this is a great advantage to their appearance. The soil hereabouts is stiff, with a good deal of brick earth underneath the surface. In this part of the country the *horse-bean* forms a great proportion of the crop. There is a vast quantity of beans on the land, generally in sheaves, and, now and then, some *yet growing*. The manner of harvesting these is, to *pull them up by the roots* (but

they sometimes cut them, then bind them in sheaves, and stack them. I saw many women employed in harvesting these beans; indeed, I see women doing almost every kind of work that is to be done upon a farm. There are full as many women employed in the fields, as there are men, and, I think, even more. They manage and harvest the *flax*, a good deal of which is grown here, as also the *cross*, of the stalks of which they make *brooms*, after threshing out the seed. Along here, I see the farmers use a swing-plough; a very good implement, as light as the English swing-plough, and as neatly made as our ploughs generally are. The *poppy* is one of the crops cultivated in this part. They make use of the poppy I understand, for medicinal purposes altogether. Numbers of women are busy in the harvesting of these poppies, which they tie up in bundles, when dry, and put into stacks, when the seed is not collected in the field. In some places I saw the women in a field of poppies, with a large piece of sailcloth spread out to catch the seed, which they get out of the pods by knocking the heads of two bundles of poppies together: just as good mothers in England very often threaten to do with the

heads of their children when two of them happen to be participators in one fault.—In the neighbourhood of this place, (*St. Pol*) is the little village of *Azincourt*, on the plains of which was fought the famous battle called the *Battle of Azincourt*, in the reign of Henry the Fifth.

AMIENS, (14½ leagues from *St. Pol*, through *Favant*, *Doulens* and *Talmas*), *Wednesday*, 15th Oct.—The people were at work in the fields, threshing out the seeds of *flax*, which they do with a solid piece of thick flat board, or slab, fastened on to a handle; with this thing they rap the flax about in barns, and in many places on some boards or cloth laid down for the purpose in the fields. Of poppies, also, there is a harvesting going on here. Oats and vetches are much sowed together, as in England, for fodder; and they cut them here after the seeds of each are nearly ripe, letting them lay on the ground for some time, till sufficiently dry, and then they are stacked, like hay.—Weather fine; but cold.—The oats in this part of the country are fine; though farther towards *Oulais* they are very indifferent. This has been, they inform me, a very backward season for oats, and I can see this, indeed, by the quan-

tity of them that remains yet un-
 housed. The other crops I see on
 the ground are *duckwheat*, *carrots*
 and *beets*; with some *red clover*,
 which is now being made into
 hay, notwithstanding the lateness
 of the season. Much of this clo-
 ver is grown, as in England, along
 with wheat and barley, for feeding
 the sheep on and cutting for hay
 the next year. I saw something
 coming along the road, which was
 quite a novelty to me, although I
 had often heard speak of such
 before: it was a young woman
 riding on a horse, which was in
 the shafts of a cart, and drawing
 a load of flax to the farm-yard.
 The peculiar manner of sitting
 upon the horse is what I wish to
 mention, and that was, what we in
 England vulgarly call a *straddle*.
 The country is more woody as I
 come on. There is, about here,
 much fine *beech* timber, with some
oaks, and coppices of *hazel* and
withy, with many other sorts of
 mixed underwood.—Much of the
 sown wheat is *up*; and I see some
 of the farmers now sowing wheat.
 This town of AMIENS, on the river
Somme, has a good deal of manu-
 factories in it. The gothic cathed-
 ral is well worth going to see; it
 is a beautiful building, and the
 most complete, they say, of any
 church in France of that kind of
 architecture.

ST. JUST: (13 leagues from
Amiens; through *Hebecourt*, *Flers*,
Breteuil, and *Wavignies*); Thurs-
 day, 16th Oct.—I mentioned, be-
 fore, the rows of trees that grow
 on each side of the road that I am
 travelling. From Calais to Paris,
 with scarcely any open interval,
 there are these two rows of trees
 all the way. Elm trees appear
 to be the favourites, rather; but,
 from *Talmas* to *St. Just*, apple
 trees have been employed, in this
 capacity, for the whole distance,
 to the exclusion of all others,
 except pear trees, of which there
 are some growing here and there,
 along with the apple trees. The
 fruit of these trees, generally
 speaking, is very insipid: the
 trees do not seem to have been
 selected, at all, for their kinds;
 indeed, most of them have come,
 I think, from seed, without any
 particular attention being paid to
 them on account of their fruit.
 These trees grow about the fields,
 as well as just by the roads; and
 of the fruit, such as it is, they
 make a good deal of *cider*. I
 tasted some of this at *Flers*, where
 I stopped to breakfast, and it was
 poor stuff, but, as I was told,
 very cheap.—I saw, as I passed
 through several little villages,
 which are composed of farm-
 houses, for the most part, several
 women threshing wheat and rye

with a flail of the same description as that used by the English threshers. Women also going to market, leading asses and mules, of which animals great use is made here. On the backs of these they bring loads of vegetables, of all sorts, to the markets of the larger towns and villages.—Soil, rather lighter, with much chalk, in places, on the surface. *Sainfoin* much cultivated; this makes by far the best hay that is to be seen in this country. Some Lucerne, the greenest crop on the ground, except the *coltsed* (*colsa*, they call it here: our name is a corruption), which is a very general crop, all along the road.—Sheep; two kinds, *Flemish sheep*, and *Spanish sheep*; the latter, in some places, looking very well. They tell me these have *degenerated*; but, they are far the best, in every respect, that I have seen yet. The *Flemish sheep* are very poor things: coarse in the fleece, long-legged, like deer, and light in the carcass. There are, however, some of these that are pretty good sheep; but, comparing them with most kinds of our *English sheep*, they are decidedly *bad*.—The price of beef, at Fliers, is 8 sous the lb. Price of mutton, the same. A labourer, they tell me, gets from one franc to two and a half francs a day, according to his abilities; journeymen carpenters, bricklayers, and the like, about the same. A loaf of bread, about the size of the English *quarter loaf*, sells for 5 sous. A turkey, 3 francs. A duck, 1 franc and a half. A fowl, 1 franc. I saw a large flock of turkeys, about fifty in number, roving in the stubble fields, with a girl to take care of them. These were like the *wild-turkeys* in America; not very large, but the whole of them as black as crows.—Between this and Amiens, near a little village called Aicanois, I saw a *vineyard*, consisting, perhaps, of about fifty acres. The untowardness of the season had rendered the crop of grapes very indifferent. This is the *first piece of vineyard* on the road. The vines were growing very low, tied to little sticks, as our *carnations* are tied up in the gardens in England; and, from all the ideas I had had of *vines*, before I saw these, I could not conceive, at first, what sort of vegetables they could be.—I remark, as I go along, that the common people are very civil and obliging, whenever I ask them questions about what I do not myself understand. There is nothing uncouth or *boorish* in their manners. They explain to you,

as small as they can, what you want to be made acquainted with; and, when they do not instantly comprehend your meaning, they seem as anxious to anticipate it, as if you were not a stranger, but rather one to whom they have been used to talk. This is a great merit, and a mark of intelligence, in the French people. It enables you to get along with them, which they cannot well do with us in England. A Frenchman is most completely out of his element in England; while an Englishman, in France, though the country appears to him very strange at first, finds, in the courtesy of the people, a great deal to reconcile him to the strangeness of their customs. Hereabouts they have much wheat land. The *stable* is now being cut, tied up in bundles, and carried in for litter for the cattle in winter.—I see, in many of the farm-houses, *knitting* and *spinning* going on; and some *looms*, one or two in a house, which are worked, mostly, by the women.—When I got to St. Just, there was to be, in two days' time, a fair, for the sale of cattle. I saw some men, a most simple-looking kind of horse-jockeys, with their horses, which they had brought to be sold at the fair. These horses were generally,

poor, just fit to work; and some of them were very pretty little horses. They were all, nearly, of one breed, such as they are for the plough, for farmers to ride upon, and for post-horses, in all which different capacities, according to the manner of the French, they are used. These horses had shape to recommend them. They are, mostly, of a middling size, and much of the same make as a light English cart-horse. The price of one of them here is, they told me, about 300 francs; or 12*l.* 10*s.*—The corn is ground here almost entirely by *windmills*, half a dozen of which are almost constantly to be seen, in travelling, along the road. There are some mills turned by water, but comparatively few.

ECOUAN, (14*h* leagues from St. Just, through Clermont, Laigneville, Chantilly and Luzarches), Friday, 17th Oct.—Here, on a stiff soil, with a good deal of *chalk* and *lime-stone*, there are some fine coppices of oak, and some good oak timber; amongst which I see a wood resembling the wood which, in America, they call *iron-wood*.—Early this morning, on leaving St. Just, I saw some sheep in a fold. This fold is made of *herdles*, much like those used in our sheep-folding. But, the care of the sheep here is

some what different from that of the English. The shepherd, accompanied by two or three dogs, is (unlike some pastors elsewhere) always along with his flock. He attends them through the day, while they are roving about; and, in the night, he sleeps alongside of the fold, in a small wooden house, which is placed upon wheels, as a cart is, with a pole to draw it from place to place, as the fold itself may have to be removed. Some hemp is grown here, I see; but most of the land is wheat and oat land, with some lucerne for the cows. Stick-beans (*haricot*, the French call them) are cultivated here, for the table. The French eat much of these bealed; that is, the seed part of the bean, after it is ripe and hard. I saw an old lady carrying some of these off the ground. There was growing in rows, in the interval between the rows of beans, a winter crop of some plant. I asked her the name of this plant, which, she informed me, was *chardon* (thistle). It is a sort of thistle that we call *teazle*; and these teasles were raised, she said, to be sent to the manufacturing towns, for the dressing of cloth, in which they are used, I believe, to give the cloth a fine nap, which operation the French call *bourretonner* cloth.

to to say to *chardon*, and *chardon* is with a thistle. There are some few oaks near St. Just, and some about Chantilly, a little town on the river Oise, a fine clear river, where they climb up the fruit trees, and look very ornamental growing in this manner. The little town of CHANTILLY, an ancient place, and formerly the seat of much nobility, is a manufacturing place, with a fine canal running by it. The manufacture is, principally, of linen. — LUZARCHES (formerly the country resort of the famous JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU) has also some manufacture belonging to it, of lace. I do not wonder that Rousseau should have been attached to this part of the country (comparing it with all that which I have passed through); for, it certainly is very pretty. There is, between Laiguesville and Chantilly, a pretty village called CRAL, which is also, I believe, on the river Oise, as well as Clermont. And another village called LAMORLAI, near Luzarches. These places are all very prettily situated; though I cannot say much for the habitations of the people, which have no signs of tasteful neatness about them. I had a fine morning; but got to ECOUEN just in time to get out of the rain, which came on in the

evening. In coming from Clermont to Ecouen, there is much wood on the sides of the road, and some *flowering locust* trees, evidently planted by hand.—I saw a man, coming out of Clermont, with a load of *fagots*. The price of these, he informed me, was 40 francs for 50 *fagots*; he having then 50 of these *fagots* on his cart, which made a good load for two strong horses.

PARIS, (4½ leagues from Ecouen, through St. Denis), Saturday, 13th October.—At Ecouen there is a fine castle, built about three hundred years ago, by the Duc de MONTMORENCY. I met with the steward of the estate, while at Ecouen, and I went early this morning, on my road to Paris, to see him at the castle, as he had invited me so to do. This gentleman showed me all over the castle, which is a fine old building, in the Dutch style; pointing out to me, as we went from one part of it to another, the signal alterations that it had undergone during the Revolution, accompanying his observations with many shrugs of regret on account of these effects, and as many expressions of devotedness to the Royal Family of his master, the present possessor of the castle, who is the Duc de BOURBON. The chapel of the castle is a beautiful little place, occupying one corner of the castle, which is, a very large building, encompassing, within its own extent, an open space, of a square shape, and of about thirty square yards. The castle has a sort of fortification round it, so that, to enter the square, you have to pass over a bridge, which is the only way of entrance. On one side of the castle, you look,

from a terrace, immediately over the town of Ecouen and its neighbourhood, which lie beneath its site; and on the opposite side the castle is hidden by a very pretty little coppice, of hazle, beech, and chesnuts, with many of the *flowering locust*, of which there is a good deal about the town of Ecouen.—When I got to Ecouen, in the evening, I, to my surprise, found the ostler at the Inn quite drunk. This is the first person, as yet, that I have seen, in France, so far under the influence of liquor. He was not, however, a Frenchman; but a German, as I was told by the landlady.—The use of the land, between Ecouen and Paris (which land is a good stiff soil) is, for the most part, the raising of vegetables for Paris market, or, for vines; of which latter I saw a great many. The people were gathering grapes into baskets, and then putting them into little wooden vats, ready for the first process of making the wine.—The roads, all the way from Calais to Paris, are very good; though not so even as those made by the hard-used "*paupers*," who crack the stones to make our roads in England. From St. Omers to Pernes, and from St. Just to Paris, the roads are entirely paved, leaving room, at the same time, on each side of the pavement, for a carriage to pass on a very good road not paved. The paving is done with a sort of stone, which is found along with the limestone, like what we call *Burstone*, in England; and of this material a great part of the houses are built.

About Trees, Grasses, and Bank Notes, in my next.

MARKETS.

Average Prices of CORN throughout ENGLAND, for the week ending 18th October.

Per Quarter.

Wheat, 47 8

Rye, 29 7

Barley, 24 8

Oats, 20 4

Beans, 32 8

Peas, 30 9

Corn Exchange, Mark Lane.

Quantities and Prices of British Corn, &c. sold and delivered in this Market, during the week ended Saturday, 18th October.

Qrs.	£.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Wheat, 7,079 for 18,104	15	0	Average, 51	1	
Barley, 3,101	4	18	11	9	26 11
Oats, 9,135	10	519	14	0	23 7
Rye, 23	35	1	8		33 11
Beans, 1,351	2	364	3	1	34 11
Peas, 1,036	1	797	19	7	34 8

Quarters of English Grain, &c. arrived Coastwise, from Oct. 20 to Oct. 25, inclusive.

Wheat, 8,808	Pease, 1,897
Barley, 3,493	Tares, 117
Malt, 5,633	Linseed, —
Oats, 6,409	Rape, 181
Rye, 46	Brank, —
Beans, 2,053	Mustard, 33

Various Seeds 279 qrs.—Flour 8,279 sacks.

From Ireland.—Oats 1,280 qrs.

Foreign.—Linseed 5,075 qrs.—Flour, 2,525 barrels.

Friday, Oct. 24.—The arrival of Wheat 6000, Barley 2800, Oats 6800 quarters, and Flour 6300 sacks, is quite sufficient for the present demand. Wheat even of prime quality does not support Monday's prices. Barley is unaltered. Beans and Peas find buyers at rather better rates than Monday. Good Oats meet a tolerable free sale, and fully support last quotations. There has not been much trade for Flour this week.

Monday, Oct. 27.—There was a good supply of most kinds of Grain last week, but as the farmers have lately been engaged in field operations, they could not thrash out much New Corn, the market is therefore scantily supplied this morning with Corn of all descriptions. Superfine samples of Wheat were taken off by our millers at rather higher prices than Friday, so that the currency of last Monday is considered as fully supported for this article.

Barley, for our Maltsters' use, has again advanced 1s. per quarter. Beans find buyers at rather higher prices than last quoted, but the demand is not considerable. Boiling Peas fully support the terms of this day se'nnight, and Grey Peas are 1s. per quarter dearer. There has not been much demand for Oats to-day, but the prices last quoted are fully maintained. In Flour there is no alteration.

COUNTRY CORN MARKETS.

By the QUARTER, excepting where otherwise named; from Wednesday to Saturday last, inclusive.

The Scotch Markets are the Returns of the Week before.

WHEAT.	s. d.	s. d.
Uxbridge, per load	10l. 0s.	16l. 0s.
Aylesbury, ditto	9l. 10s.	12l. 10s.
Newbury	42 0	— 64 0
Reading	38 0	— 55 0
Henley	32 0	— 63 0
Banbury	46 0	— 56 0
Devizes	46 0	— 66 0
Warminster	40 0	— 64 0
Sherborne	0 0	— 0 0
Dorchester, per load	12l. 0s.	17l. 0s.
Exeter, per bushel	7 0	— 8 6
Lewes	46 0	— 64 0
Guildford, per load	10l. 0s.	16l. 10s.
Winchester, ditto	0l. 0s.	0l. 0s.
Basingstoke	48 0	— 66 0
Chelmsford, per load ..	6l. 10s.	14l. 10s.
Yarmouth	44 0	— 52 0
Birmingham	0 0	— 0 0
Lynn	36 0	— 52 0
Horncastle	36 0	— 46 0
Stamford	36 0	— 50 0
Northampton	40 0	— 52 0
Taunton, 24 galls. to a bush.	0 0	— 0 0
Swansea, per bushel	7 0	— 0 0
Nottingham	46 0	— 0 0
Derby, 34 quarts to bush.	48 0	— 56 0
Newcastle	36 0	— 56 0
Dalkeith, per boll *	20 0	— 28 0
Haddington, ditto*	22 0	— 30 6

* The Scotch boll is 3 per cent more than 4 bushels.

Liverpool, Oct. 21.—Since Tuesday last there was a tolerable demand for old Grain, Oatmeal, and Flour, at the prices of that day, and for the finest qualities of Wheat and Oats an advance of 2d. per bushel on the former, and 1d. on the latter, was obtained; and Beans were 1s. to 2s. per quarter dearer. The market of this day was tolerably well attended, and although the sales were not exten-

sive, the improvement noted above was maintained, but new Irish Wheat and Oats were each at lower prices. Other articles of the trade remain without alteration. —Imported into Liverpool, from the 14th to the 20th October 1823 inclusive; —Wheat 2884; Oats 3527; Barley 173; Malt 533; and Beans 124 quarters. Oatmeal 487 packs of 240 lbs. Flour 1290 sacks, and 867 barrels foreign.

Norwich, Oct. 25.—Business was rather flatter in the Wheat trade this morning; New Wheats still come to hand very cold and damp; but the expectation that they will ultimately improve in condition, keeps down the price even of such as is dry—prices may be stated at from 40s. to 52s.; Barley is in great request at 27s. to 29s. per quarter; Oats, 20s. to 25s.; and Grey Peas, 27s. to 29s. per quarter.

Bristol, Oct. 25.—The Corn markets here are extremely dull, and prices remain as per last quotations.—Best Wheat from 7s. 6d. to 7s. 9d.; inferior ditto, 4s. 6d. to 6s. 6d.; Barley, 2s. 9d. to 3s. 6d.; Beans, 3s. to 5s.; Oats, 2s. to 3s.; and Malt, 4s. 6d. to 6s. 6d. per bushel. Flour, Seconds, 28s. to 44s. per bag.

Birmingham, Oct. 23.—Our Wheat market was rather dull at late quotations. Barley was in good request, at 27s. to 32s.; and Beans 14s. 6d. to 15s. 3d. per ten scores. Flour and other articles of the trade were without alteration. Supplies were by no means abundant.

Ipswich, Oct. 25.—Our market today was largely supplied with Barley, and pretty well with Wheat. Prices remain much as last week, as follow:—Old Wheat, 50s. to 60s.; New ditto, 40s. to 52s.; Barley, 25s. to 30s.; Beans, 29s. to 30s.; and Oats, 20s. to 24s. per quarter.

Market, Oct. 25.—Every article in the Corn line here has exceedingly heavy sales, and lower in price than last week, except for very prime articles.

Boston, Oct. 25.—There has been but a very scanty supply of samples of Grain at this day's market, which has occasioned prime samples to be brisk in demand, and sold readily at the following prices:—Wheat, 42s. to 48s.; Oats, 17s. to 21s.; and Barley, 22s. to 24s. per quarter. Beans, none at market.

Malton, Oct. 25.—The Corn market here appears rather more lively than for some weeks. —Old Wheat, 60s. to 62s.; New ditto, 48s. to 52s. per quarter, five stone per bushel. Barley, 28s. to 32s. per quarter. Oats, 17s. to 19s. per stone.

SMITHFIELD, Monday, Oct. 27.

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).			
Beef	2	8	to 3 6
Mutton	2	10	— 3 8
Veal	3	6	— 4 6
Pork	3	8	— 4 6
Roast Beef	2	8	— 3 6
Sheep	2	8	— 3 6
Calves	2	10	— 3 8
Pigs	2	8	— 3 6

NEWGATE (same day).

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).			
Beef	2	8	to 3 6
Mutton	2	10	— 3 8
Veal	3	6	— 4 6
Pork	3	8	— 4 6

LEADENHALL (same day).

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).			
Beef	2	8	to 3 6
Mutton	2	10	— 3 8
Veal	3	6	— 4 6
Pork	3	8	— 4 6

BACON.

The stock of new being short, prices have advanced here; and this has induced the buyers to engage for forward shipments, at higher rates than they could have bought at some time ago. On Board: 40s. to 41s. for immediate Shipments; 34s. to 36s. for forward Shipments.—Landed: New, 44s. to 46s.; Old, 36s. to 42s.

BUTTER.

We thought the present month would not pass over without an effort on the part of the holders to cause an advance; and which effort has now been successfully made. Every one began to say, that, if no advance took place for a month or six weeks to come, mischief must ensue; for as the time of payment was coming, sales must be made, and if made at reduced prices, it would be obvious to all what was the cause for selling. But, as the business is all done amongst the jobbers themselves, we think it very likely that, after the bustle is over, prices will go back again; especially as the quantity of Foreign continues very great. On board: Carlow, 78s. to 80s.—Belfast, 77s. to 78s.—Newry, 72s.—Waterford, or Dublin, 73s. to 74s.—Gork, 73s. Limerick, 71s.—Landed: Carlow, 80s. to 82s.—Belfast, 80s.—Water-

Yord or Dublin, 75s. to 77s.—Cork, 75s.—Limerick, 74s.—Dutch, 78s. to 86.—Holstein, 74s. to 80s.

CHEESE

Has not varied in price during the past week: the trade is very dull.

POTATOES.

SPITALFIELDS.—per Ton.

Ware	£ 2 5 to £3 15
Middlings.....	2 0 — 2 15
Chats.....	1 15 — 0 0
Common Red..	0 0 — 0 0
Onions..	0s. 0d.—0s. 0d. per bush.

BOROUGH.—per Ton.

Ware.....	£2 5 to £3 10
Middlings.....	1 10 — 2 0
Chats.....	1 10 — 0 0
Common Red..	0 0 — 0 0
Onions..	0s. 0d.—0s. 0d. per bush.

HAY and STRAW, per Load.

Smithfield.—	Hay .. 100s. to 107s.
	Straw... 40s. to 48s.
	Clover 95s. to 130s.
St. James's.—	Hay.... 68s. to 110s.
	Straw... 36s. to 48s.
	Clover... 84s. to 115s.
Whitechapel.—	Hay.... 95s. to 115s.
	Straw... 38s. to 46s.
	Clover 110s. to 135s.

Price of HOPS, per Cwt. in the BOROUGH.

Monday, Oct. 27.—Our market for New Hops is rather dull, the Planters holding out for prices the trade do not like to give; rather more inquiry for good Old, which are much below their relative value: the Currency may be stated—New Sussex, 11s. 11s. to 13s. 13s.; New Kent, 12s. to 15s.; 1822, 8s. to 11s. 11s.; 1821, 5s. 12s. to 6s. 6s.; 1819 and 1820, 3s. 16s. to 4s. 10s.

† Maidstone, Oct. 22.—Our Hop market continues so very dull that we have hardly a lot sold, in fact we cannot give any information about prices this week.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY REGISTER.

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TO THE YEOMEN OF NORFOLK.

On the intentions of France with regard to South America, and on the probable consequences of those intentions.

Kensington, 5 November, 1823.

GENTLEMEN;

THERE is one of my prophecies fulfilled, at any rate. France has got possession of the fortresses, the arsenals, the ports, the fleets and all the resources of Spain. I said, that this was her object, and I gave it as my opinion that the Hobhouses and Wilsons and Erskines and Whitbreads, wise as they are, would not be able to prevent her from accomplishing this object. The Ministers, some of them, said, that France would fail; others *prayed* that she might. I adhered to my prophecy; and that prophecy, contrary to the opinions even of the greater part of my own readers, has been fulfilled.

I am now going to *prophecy* again. The French have got Spain into their hands; that is to say, *European Spain*; but, there is *another part of Spain*, which is of importance nearly equal to that of European Spain; namely, *Spanish America*. This country, or chain of countries, has long been engaged in a revolution. It

has been divided, by the revolvers, into separate *States*. Governments have been formed in these, and these new States have declared themselves to be (like the United States of North America) *independent* of Spain, and; indeed, to be independent nations, in which capacity some of them have been acknowledged by the Congress of the UNITED STATES.

The new States (colonies of Spain until now) abound in all the means of giving wealth and power. A fuller description of these will follow presently; but, that these possessions must be very valuable, is a thing that no one doubts. While under the power of Spain, *we were shut out of them*. They were of no advantage to us. But, since they have shaken off the power of Spain, we have got a great footing in them. We send to them our manufactures in great quantities; our shipping finds employment in carrying goods thither; and in bringing produce away. The new governments have made loans of our Jews and Lobbys, and, of course, have had the "*public spirit*" to mortgage the "*free and independent States*" to them. So that we are now pretty deeply dipped in the affairs of these new States, formerly colonies of Spain, and going, with us, under the general name of *SOUTH AMERICA*.

Now, then, will the French, who are now masters of Spain, suffer these valuable countries to

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remain independent? That is the question: that is the matter about which I am going to *prophecy*; and I prophesy in the following words:

The French, as soon as they have settled affairs in Old Spain; as soon as they have garrisoned the fortresses, and taken proper care of the arsenals, ports and fleets, will gradually make known their intention to recolonise South America. They will first obtain the approbation of the Holy Alliance for doing this. Our Government may remonstrate, may supplicate, and our newspapers will cry out robbery and assassination; but, at last, the Pittite crew will say that "strict neutrality" is the "dignified" course, and the Whig crew will not dare pronounce the dreadful word, War. The French, if they succeed in the recolonising scheme, will keep part of South America to themselves; and they will justify their conduct by pointing to our grabbings of Pondicherry, Isles of France and Bourbon, Ceylon, the Cape, Malta, Trinidad, Demerara, and God knows what besides. There will be, by our stupid newspapers, some big and empty talk about the United States of America standing forward to defend their "Sister Republics of the South;" and, it need not surprise us if the man, who, at Liverpool, could condescend to attempt to coar the Americans by the boarding-school simile about the mother and the daughter, were to attempt to get the United States to join him to oppose the French in this enterprise; but, if this attempt be made, it will only serve to cover

with shame the man that shall make it; for, so far will the United States be from endeavouring to prevent the recolonising of South America, they will do every thing in their power (short of actually going to war) to promote such recolonization. Cadiz will be the port whence the forces for this undertaking will sail. The enterprise will be called *Spanish*, though it will notoriously be French. We shall soon begin to hear of envoys from Spain to the colonies with offers of peace and amnesty. Ships and troops will be getting ready at Cadiz, in the meanwhile; and, the fair probability is, that the whole of Spanish America will be recolonised in the course of two years and a half; an event which one shall scarcely regret, when one reflects, that the "liberty," which the "Patriots" have given to the people of South America, is, to have their country and their labour mortgaged to the Jews and Jobbers of London, and to have the advantages of their commerce turned over from Old Spain to the Boroughmongers, to enable these latter to keep their estates a little longer than they could without this commerce.

That, Gentlemen, is my *prophecy*. To be more explicit is impossible. I have hidden my meaning under no tropes or figures. It is impossible not to understand my words; and we have to wait no very long time for the fulfilment, or the falsification.

Some people will be, or affect to be, shocked at the idea of England remaining a quiet spectator of such an event as this. What is England to do? Go to war? She has no other way of not re-

maining a quiet spectator of it. Does she discover any disposition to resist? Poor thing! She is as tame as any *capon*; and, what is provoking, she is *poor* too, whereas the *capon* is *fat*, which is a compensation for his tameness. It is said, that we have *acknowledged the South American States*; that is to say, that we have sent *envoys* and *consuls* to them, and that we, therefore, consider them as *independent nations*. And, what of that? We had an envoy at the government of the *Cortes* and *constitutional King*; and he is now our envoy to the *absolute King*. Our envoy to the "*Republic of Columbia*" will easily become an envoy to the French or Spanish Viceroy; or, rather, he will easily *take himself off*.

However, I do not believe, that our Government *has acknowledged the Republics*. I believe it *wishes* to do it. I believe, that it is now *frightened*; that it knows not what to do; that it sees the game that France is going to play; that it trembles at Spain and South America being in the hands of France; that it is ashamed to hold up its head. But, what is it to do? Can it go to war? It knows, that it cannot: it feels, that war is *instant death* to it. Divided, then, between its wishes, its most anxious wishes, to keep the French out of South America and its fear of the effects of war; thus divided, the Government knows not what to do; it is full of alarms; and, as to these South American States, it will, most likely, neither *acknowledge* nor *not acknowledge* them; but, do some equivocal, some shuffling thing that shall serve to *make a story out of* for the use of St. Stephen's. The Ministers will *not face the French*: we may be quite sure of that. It is said, that the

French propose to call, a *Congress* of the Holy Allies, to *discuss the affairs of South America*; and that our pretty gentlemen *decline sending to the Congress*. And, what then? The Congress will meet without them, and *decide without them*: that is all! A pretty change since 1815! The truth is, it is at Congresses as at taverns: those who have most money, fare best. Our pretty fellows used to carry the heavy purse: now the French carry it. Our sweet fellows have a debt, a dead weight, and a pauper debt: the French are loaded with neither; for, as to their public debt (though it ought to be wholly spunged off) it is hardly worth naming when compared to ours. Our DEAD WEIGHT; that is to say, the money, that we have to pay annually for pensions and allowances to those who assisted in "*conquering France*;" this money, a good thumping sum of which is paid to *Hanoverians*, their wives and children (living in Hanover!); this money; this DEAD WEIGHT; this single item of the cost of "*conquering France*," amounts to more, annually, than the whole of the charge for the public debt of France.

This being the case; our sweet fellows, being in want of all the money they can get for the purposes aforesaid, have none now to carry about them, when they go to Congresses, or elsewhere. And, therefore, they will do well to remain at home; for, to a certainty, the Congress will do precisely what the French want them to do. We can *borrow no more*: we can give subsidies and make loans to foreign powers *no more*: we are at the end of our tether: and we shall now see what it was that made these powers our friends.

Our sweet fellows (the *sweetest* fellows in all this world!) will remain at home. They will send nobody to the Congress; and will content themselves with making *peace-speeches* at dinners, to which toad-eaters and place-hunters, in the Corporations, invite them. They seem to have wholly changed their nature. Formerly, it was a *word* and a *blow*, and the *blow* first. No matter whether for Turk or Russian, for cat-skins or for sugar-canes. Always "*full of fight*," with any body and for any thing. What a change! Every thing formerly called for war; and those were said to be short-sighted mortals, narrow-souled dogs, who could not see how closely connected the independence of Spain was with the independence of England! In short, the thing was so obvious, that a man must be a *traitor*, who pretended not to see; that Spain was, in fact, the great *out-work* of England. And now, after spending a hundred and fifty millions sterling (besides its share of Dead Weight) in getting this "*out-work of England*" out of the hands of the French, we, without putting a single trigger, suffer the French to go and take complete possession of this *out-work*, and, our Minister for Foreign Affairs (formerly one of the most deadly warriors) tells us, from his dinner seat amongst the servile wretches at Plymouth, that, to have interfered for the Spaniards would have been "*Quixotic*;" romantic in its origin and thankless in its end!"

Gentlemen, it is the part of the weak and pusillanimous to *bluster*, while they *decline the combat*; to brag loudly of their courage and their ability, but, at the same time, to be very explicit as to their resolution *not to fight*. This was

precisely what Mr. CANNING did, the other day, at PLYMOUTH, where he was at a Dinner with the Corporation, who presented him with the freedom of their town, being quite ready to do as much for any other man, likely to have the power to help them to places or pensions. The Secretary's health was drunk, and he, during a speech, long before hatched for the occasion, let out the *pacifist* designs of himself and his colleagues. The passage, to which I particularly allude, is well worthy of remark; and it shows, amongst other things, how Mr. CANNING can *crouch to the French*, how he can *kiss the rod*, laid on upon him by the French papers, written, as he well knows, by the French Ministers themselves, or by their order. In the article, taken from one of those papers, and inserted in the last Register, he is *reviled* most outrageously; and, the following is the way in which he resents the reviling:

"But while we thus control even our feelings by our duty, let it not be said that we cultivate peace either because we fear, or because we are *unprepared for war*; on the contrary, if eight months ago the Government did not hesitate to *proclaim* that the country was prepared for war, if war should unfortunately be necessary, every month of peace that has since passed, has but made us so much the more capable of exertion. The resources created by peace, are means of war. [Applause.]—In cherishing those resources, we but accumulate those means. Our present repose is no more a proof of inability to act, than the state of inertness and inactivity in which I have seen those mighty masses that float in the waters above your town, is a proof they are devoid of strength, and incapable of being fitted for action. You well know, Gentlemen, how soon one of those stupendous masses, now reposing on their shadows in perfect stillness—how soon, upon any call of patriotism, or of necessity, it would assume the likeness of an animated thing—instinct with life and motion—how soon it would ruffle, as it were, its swelling plumage—how quickly it would put forth

all its beauty, and its bravery—collect its scattered elements of strength, and awaken its dormant thunder. [Loud and continued thunders of applause.]—Such, as is one of these magnificent machines when springing from inaction into a display of its might—such is England herself, while apparently passive and motionless, she silently concentrates the power to be put forth on an adequate occasion. But God forbid, that that occasion should arise! After a war sustained for nearly a quarter of a century—sometimes single-handed, and with all Europe arranged at times against her, or at her side, England needs a period of tranquillity, and may enjoy it without fear of misconstruction. Long may we be enabled, Gentlemen, to improve the blessings of our present situation, to cultivate the arts of peace, to give to commerce, now reviving, greater extension and new spheres of employment, and to confirm the prosperity now generally diffused throughout this island. Of the blessings of peace, Gentlemen, I trust that this borough, with which I have now the honour and happiness of being associated, will receive an ample share. I trust the time is not far distant when that noble structure of which, as I learn from your Recorder, the box with which you have honoured me, through his hands, formed a part, that gigantic barrier against the fury of the waves that roll into your harbour, will protect commercial marine not less considerable in its kind, than the warlike marine of which your port has been long so distinguished an asylum—and when the town of Plymouth will participate in the commercial prosperity as largely as it has hitherto done in the naval glories of England."

This, be you assured, Gentlemen, was intended for the *French Ministers* much more than for the place-hunting crew, by whom the speaker was surrounded. But, let us examine, a little, this piece of *bragging cowardice*, conveyed in a sort of sophistical fastian. What does he mean, by the Government having, eight months ago, "*proclaimed* that the country was "*prepared for war*"? What does the empty man mean by this? When was there any such *proclamation* issued? Oh! he only means, that the Ministers said this, in their speeches in parliament!

And, he might have added, that all sensible men (and especially the French Government) *laughed most heartily* at the said *proclamation*; and, only five days before this speech was made, the French papers laughed again at "*the speeches with which the vaults of Westminster had echoed*;" but, said this paper, "*not a soldier, not a ship, did the English Minister send*." And yet, with all these facts before us, the speech-maker has the assurance to tell his hearers that *we were prepared for war*, and to speak of such preparation as a thing *taken for granted*!

"If," said he, "the Government *proclaimed* that the country was *prepared for war then, every month since must have made us so much the more capable of exertion*." Perhaps so; but, this is not a matter of course; for, the eight months *may* have been eight months of calamity; and, indeed, they *have been*; for, never was there so much ruin of families in any eight months since England was England. But, this aside, does it follow, that, because the Government *proclaimed*, that we were prepared for war, that we *were* so prepared? What an impudent spouter! What a stupid audience! "*The resources created by peace are the means of war*." Very true; but, have you any now creating? Is the lowering of the interest of money, and is the Bank taking estates to mortgage; are these proofs of your being at work *creating resources*? A revolution in property is going on, owing to the burdens of peace. You have an army more costly than that of France, though she employs a part of hers to occupy Spain. You have a fleet more costly than the fleets of

all Europe, and that of America into the bargain. And yet, you have the folly to talk about "*cherishing the resources of peace*," and thereby *accumulating the means of war*." You borrow even now, though under a disguise. How, then, are you to *accumulate*? How are you to cherish resources to enable you to go to war?

As to the *figure of the ship*, what *aptness* is there in it? The ship is put into motion whenever those who have the means of doing it choose to employ those means. The *inactivity* of the ship is, generally speaking, no proof at all, that it is *devoid of strength*, or *incapable of being fitted for action*; for you, Gentlemen, as well as the Recorder of Plymouth, know very well, how soon a ship, now lying unrigged, may be put into motion. But, this is true only sometimes. It is not always true. The *inactivity* is, sometimes, "*a proof of the ship being devoid of strength*." While you see no occasion to use or man the ship; while you see her in no danger, and see nothing that she is wanted to do; then, indeed, her *inactivity* is no proof of her being devoid of strength or that she is incapable of being fitted for action: but, if danger approach her; if a fire-ship be making towards her; if a battery be opening, manifestly intended to play upon her; if an enemy's ships are in the offing, capturing the merchantmen: if any of these circumstances exist, and if the ship remain *inactive*, is not her "*inactivity*" then "*a proof*" of one of two things: namely, that the ship is devoid of strength, and is unfit for use; or, that those who have the charge of her are guilty of gross neglect, or are despicable cowards?

The *flourishing figure* is, then, not worth a straw, except for the purpose of puzzling fools, and, amongst fools, to keep cowards in countenance. Upon the face of the thing, the ship being in a state of *immobility* and the nation being at peace are no proofs of the *usefulness* of the one, and of the *inability* of the other; but, under the circumstances above supposed, the *immobility* of the ship, is, as we have seen, a proof of her uselessness or of the neglect or cowardice of her commanders; and, under circumstances such as those which have existed for eight months past, the nation being at peace is a proof of her *inability to go to war*, or, of the neglect, or cowardice, or something worse, of the Ministers.

The nation is *quite able*, we are told, to go to war, "on an adequate occasion." Well, now, what will be "an adequate occasion?" She is "*silently concentrating her power*!" Empty stuff! How? Where does her power come from? Is she getting money together, when she is actually borrowing still, and when her farmers are, in every quarter, tumbling into ruin? Her gaols are full of insolvents. Such a wreck of fortunes was never before heard of in any country in the world. However, she is concentrating her power; and, "when the occasion arises" she is to make use of it. "But," says the hero, "GOD FORBID THAT OCCASION SHOULD ARISE." Indeed! See, Gentlemen, how AFRAID he was! He seems to have been frightened, and to have started, at the sound of his own voice. I would not have been in such a devil of a fright for a trifle. Perhaps that wise friend of his, LORD MORLEY, whispered him, that Monsieur

Chateaubriand might overhear him. Quite ready for war, if an adequate occasion should arise; but, "*God forbid that occasion should arise!*" Bravo!

Let us, however, hear the reasons for this "*God forbid.*" They are these: "That we have recently been at war for nearly a quarter of a century."—So has France.—That we, sometimes, "*were at war single-handed against all Europe.*"—So was France.—That, at other times, "*all Europe was on our side.*"—

So it was with France.—Well, spouter, come; get on. What, then, you can get no further; and upon these reasons, all which will do for France as well as for you, you conclude, that "*England needs a period of tranquillity.*" Why, then, does not France need the same? Answer me that, man. Lay aside your rhetorical flourishes; cast off, for a little, the *Captain of Eton*; and tell me in plain English, why France does not need a period of tranquillity as well as England. Tell me that. I will tell you: because France has no *Boroughmongers*; because France has no *Tithes*; because France has no *Dead-weight Debt* and *Pauper Debt*; and because France has no *Jew and Jobber Debt* worth speaking of, when compared with ours.

This flashy gentleman talks of the nation "*needing a period of tranquillity,*" which he, in another place, calls "*repose.*" What, does he really imagine, then, that, a nation, like a man, wants *rest* and *sleep*? The French nation wants, it seems, neither. But, this is downright nonsense: it is really unmeaning trash; or, it means, that the country wants *time*, in order to *save money to pay for more war.* That is the meaning,

if the words have any meaning at all. And, then, how stands the fact? Why, that the nation is *sinking under its present weight of taxes*, and must have some *relief* from them. How, then, are we to *save money* to hire more fighters, whether German or others? And, besides (I must repeat it) how comes it that our *rival*, our *antagonist*, our great and constant and natural *foe*; how is it, that he wants no *repose*, no period of *tranquillity*, no *rest*, no *sleep*, no time to *save money* in?

The remainder of this speech is almost a cry. "*LONG may we be enabled to improve the blessings of peace:—the blessings of our present situation:*"—and at last comes what one would imagine could not have come from sober lips: namely, a hope, that this *Dock-yard town*, will "*receive an ample share of the blessings of peace!*" And, to cap the whole, that the "*gigantic barrier*" (the *break-water* that has cost the nation millions) "*will protect a commercial marine.*" This conclusion would seem to imply, that the *other marine* will not be wanted any more! In short, any thing more miserable, more cowardly, more crawling to the French, than this speech, it is impossible to imagine. The man really seems to have been half petrified with fear while he was speaking. He put out some big bragging stuff by way of clap-trap; but, the moment it was out, he appears to have been seized with a dread of the consequences; and, then he began to eat his words as fast as he could.

But, this is perfectly natural. The Ministers know that they cannot go to war without a *blowing up of the Debt.* They see, that the bare rumour of their

sending a ship or two out to carry troops to keep down the black slaves, causes their Debt to fall in value. They know, or, at least, they can hardly be such fools as not to know, that war with France would bring what they call "*Consols*" down to 10 or 20, in a few days. They would be glad to get rid of the stuff, I dare say; but, then, *they themselves would be got rid of by the same blow*. How mad must that man be, who imagines, that this system of sway could be upheld while the Debt was blown up; and how much madder than mere mad must he be, who can suppose, that war could be even begun without blowing up the Debt! The very first step would be an attempt to go back to a forced paper-money; that would immediately cause two prices; and those two prices would blow the whole up.

Therefore, the Ministers cannot go to war, and will not attempt it. I repeat, that the Debt says to the King of England, "*Thou shalt not go to war, while I am in existence*." This poor driveller, at Plymouth; this "*heir to the inkstand*," as the French royalist newspapers call him, has, under his own hand, sent envoys and consuls out to South America. What could induce him to do that, unless he were really to acknowledge the States to be independent? "*Madman*," as the French paper calls him, he never could think of sending envoys and consuls to the COLONIES of another nation! Oh, no! He wished to be beforehand with the French; but, what will the world say, if he should be compelled to call home his envoys, and to refuse to acknowledge, or, to unsay his acknowledging of the States in question? This is what will take

place, if the envoys be authorized to acknowledge; or, which is most likely, these agents will *slide home again*, nobody will know when or how, and we shall hear our gallant break-water gentleman, bragging away again, that England is only *reposing*, and that, like the "*mighty masses*," she is ready to "*shake her feathers*" (I believe that was it); no, "*ruffle her swelling plumage*," and put forth, "*if the occasion should arise*, all her beauty and her bravery; but GOD FORBID that occasion should arise." He will brag just as much as ever; and the French will go on as fast as ever; and stop they never will, till they have made this a very little nation.

This is the opportunity for France; and, indeed, for the whole of the family of Bourbon. England was a good deal pulled down in the year 1780; but her Debt was then trifling, and the internal state of France was lamentable. This brought on the French Revolution, which was produced by the Debts of France, and by a vain attempt to pay those Debts in full. Our Government made use of the confusion in France to strip that kingdom of a great deal of territory in colonies; and we know well what it did in 1815. It is impossible that France should not wish to get back what she lost. And, *now is her time!* This she knows full as well as I do. I can clearly see by the language of the French, and, indeed, by their measures, that they have begun upon us, and that they will keep on until they have done their work. We shall see them proceed, step by step; not in haste, but steadily; and even the affair of South America, though a very grand affair, will

be but a prelude to strokes that will touch us more closely.

However, the affair of South America is a *touchstone*. It will try our Government. We shall hear what the two wrangling political factions will say. They cannot, at any rate, say, that the *Radicals brought them into the difficulty*. The thing is their own, and of their own seeking. They have brought it upon themselves by their *hostility to Reform*, and by that alone. At every stage of their progress, the question with them has been: "*What shall we do now to keep down the Reformers?*" This was the question they asked themselves, when, in 1817, the subject of South America first came before them. They did, not what the interest of the country demanded; but what the interests of the enemies of Reform demanded. Not only would the Government *not acknowledge* the South American States, at that time, when it might have been done with such safety, and with such great and manifest advantage, but, it passed a law to *punish the king's subjects for going into the service of those States at their own risk!* In short, it declared *against the independence* of those very States, which it is now so anxious to acknowledge, but which it *dares not* acknowledge for fear of those very French whom it said it had just then "*conquered*," and of whose country it then (in 1817) held military occupation!

If the English Government had acknowledged the independence of these States in 1817, instead of passing a "*Foreign Enlistment Bill*" to prevent Englishmen to assist those States in securing their independence, *how different* the state of things would now have been from what it is! But, before I go into remarks of this sort, let

me show you, that, if our pretty fellows at Whitehall did wrong in 1817, they did it with their eyes open. I was then in Long Island; but, I did not fail to point out to them what they ought to do. This was done in the form of a *petition to the Prince Regent*; and this petition I will here insert, first, because it contains so much useful matter, connected with the subject before us; and, next, because it may serve to show Daddies Coke and Suffield and the Hickory Quaker, that, if you did agree to a petition of mine *without knowing its contents*, you were justified in so doing, for, it is, I think, impossible to read the following petition, and to look, at the same time, at our present situation, without being convinced, that I possess more knowledge relative to the interests of the country than the pretty gentlemen and the two sets of lawgivers all put together.

I have, Gentlemen, addressed myself to you upon this occasion, because the stupid hacks of the London press have affected to ridicule you for having approved of a paper which you had not heard read. You were, in fact censured for *relying on my judgment*. Hold, then, the following petition up to the revilers; and ask them, whether it would not have been happy for the nation, if my judgment had been relied on by the Government in 1817. This Petition came forth in one of those papers, which Corruption called "*Two-penny Trash*." Look at it well, Gentlemen; at the knowledge it conveys, at the distribution of the matter, at its reasoning, at its style and manner. Compare it, Gentlemen, with any public paper, written by Mr. CANNING, or by any one who is, or has been, in office. And, when you have done these, tell Daddies Coke and Suff-

field, and the Hickory Quaker, that, when either of them shall have written a paper like this, you will approve of a petition of his drawing up without hearing such petition read.

TO

*His Royal Highness the PRINCE,
Regent of the United Kingdom
of Great Britain and Ireland.*

The Petition of WILLIAM COB-
BETT of Botley in the County
of Southampton, now resid-
ing at North Hampstead, in
the State of New York, this
17th day of October 1817,

Most humbly Sheweth,

1. THAT, next after the present situation of England herself, the object the most interesting to every well-informed and patriotic Englishman must, as your Petitioner humbly presumes to believe, be the present situation of the Spanish Colonies in America, in whose immense and fertile regions there are preparing, and, indeed, there are now in progress, such changes as will, in all human probability, produce a new distribution of wealth and of power amongst the most considerable of the nations of the world; and, as will, at the very least, materially affect many of those nations, not only in a Commercial, but also in a Naval and Military point of view. Of all those nations no one is, as it appears to your humble Petitioner, nearly so deeply interested as England in this grand Revolution, which, if your Royal Highness's Councillors be wise, prompt, and faithful to their King and his People, may greatly tend to restore her to prosperity, may secure to her an undisputed maritime predominance for ages not to be numbered, and may, at the same time, and from the use of the very same means, crown her

with the unfading glory of having given freedom to twenty millions of people, who now groan out their lives under the double-thonged scourge of Civil and Religious tyranny.

2. Such being the opinion of your Petitioner, it is impossible for him to refrain from soliciting most humbly, though most earnestly, the attention of your Royal Highness to this important matter. And, he begs leave here to be permitted to represent to your Royal Highness, that, while taking this step, he forgets not the injuries at this time unjustly inflicted on his fellow subjects in general, and on himself in particular; but, that, bearing these in mind, as he trusts he shall, to the last moment of his life, he also bears in mind those sacred obligations of law and of nature, which bind him to the land of his birth, and which bid him upon this occasion, as upon all other occasions, to make every exertion, within the compass of his humble means, to promote the welfare and advance the honour of England.

3. To the mind of your Royal Highness the bare fact of a Revolution being in existence and agitating the breasts of the whole of the population of a country, which reaches from the 18th degree of North Latitude to the 50th degree of South Latitude; a country which thus extends four thousand miles in length, which, in breadth, at some points, extends three thousand miles, and which is unbroken except by the comparatively trifling possessions of the Portuguese and the Dutch; a country which borders, at one extremity, on the part of the United States, at once the most fertile and the most important as to all probable future military and naval operations; a

country, which has numerous ports on the side of the Pacific, as well as on that of the Atlantic, ocean; a country, which, to all the articles of European produce adds many articles that are refused by nature even to the most favoured part of the United States; a country, which, while it is cheered by a continual summer on the surface of the earth, has mines beneath inexhaustible in silver and in gold; a country which abounds in, or is capable of producing, almost all the commodities, greatly useful, as imports, to England, and which, at the same time, offers to England the surest, the most extensive, and the best of all possible markets; a country, which, if independent, nature would forbid to become, in any respect, the rival of England, and which from necessity must seek her friendship, and rely, in a great measure, on her power: to the mind of your Royal Highness the bare fact of a Revolution being in actual existence in such a country; to the mind of every one who feels for the interest and honour of England, this bare fact, as your Petitioner humbly presumes to believe, must suggest the strongest desire to know the true state of that Revolution and to see clearly developed the probable consequences of its ultimate success.

4. Deep is the sorrow of your Petitioner when he reflects on his incapacity to perform this task in a manner worthy of the magnitude and importance of the subject; but, urged thereunto by a sense of imperious duty towards your Royal Highness and his Country, no conviction, however perfect, of his inability can be sufficient to restrain him from making the attempt.

5. Minutely to describe the state

of the Revolution in Spanish America; to lay before your Royal Highness in detail the number of men in arms in the several Provinces and Viceroyalties; to state the precise situation of the hostile armies and armaments; to say what are the exact means, which, in these several warlike scenes, the parties possess, or may speedily expect: these would demand a mass of information not only greater than is possessed by your Petitioner, but greater than can, at this time, possibly be possessed by any one man. But, the information which your Petitioner has acquired, not from mere rumour or from published accounts, but from a personal communication with men of high character, coming directly from the spot, enables him confidently to state to your Royal Highness, that, in the Viceroyalty of Mexico, which is the most Northern part of the Spanish Dominion on the Main, and which borders on the United States, the people are wholly disaffected to the government; that they have a Junta, or Assembly of Representatives, in the Province of Valladolid; that they have leaders of great enterprise and talent, and that arms only are wanted to decide, at once, the struggle in their favour; that the Viceroy, indeed, raises troops, but that even these are disaffected towards him; that, on the Atlantic side, the only considerable seaport of this Viceroyalty, La Vera Cruz, is, as yet, in the hands of the Spanish government; but that, to drive the present possessors from that port, and to afford every necessary assistance to the oppressed people, one single English frigate, with twenty thousand stand of arms, sent to the Gulf of Mexico, would be sufficient; that

this Viceroyalty, which proposes to form itself into a distinct independent state, has a population of from seven to eight millions, nearly equalling the population of the United States of America, on which it borders on one side, and with regard to the resources and power of which United States, the establishment of the independence of Mexico, must, as your Petitioner will hereafter humbly endeavour to show, have a most important effect.

6. That, with regard to the Second Grand Division of these immense regions, which division includes New Grenada and Venezuela, and which extends from the isthmus of Darien to the mouth of the Orinoco (along more than seven hundred miles of sea coast the most important in every point of view), containing a population of from three to four millions, a declaration of independence, and a new form of government have, long since, been proclaimed; that a war, extensive and sanguinary, has, for years, been going on; that the Patriots have commanders regularly appointed and commissioned; that they have a Representative Assembly, officers of state, a national flag, and, in short, that they exercise the powers of sovereignty over a large portion of this extensive, fertile, rich and important territory. Here, as in the case of Mexico, arms only and a trifling maritime force are wanted to put an end to the contest, and, as your Petitioner humbly hopes that he shall be able to show, to open to England the fairest prospect of immense advantages.

7. That, in Peru, which forms the Third Division, and which is bounded to the North by the last-mentioned Territory, to the East

by the Portuguese Possessions, to the South by the Territory of Chili, and to the West by the Pacific Ocean, and which has a population of from two to three millions, the spirit of independence is as active as in the afore-mentioned territories, and that here also a mere trifle in the way of maritime force and of arms would decide the contest, even, perhaps, without further struggle.

8. That, in the Southern Division, including the Territories of Buenos Ayres and of Chili, and containing a population of from three to four millions, the contest is nearly at an end. The Patriots have established a new Government, and, with the exception of a trifling portion of territory on the borders of the Pacific Ocean, on which Spain is endeavouring to keep up the struggle, the whole of this Division is under the actual control of the Patriot Government.

9. But, though your Petitioner places, in relation to the state of the Revolution, great reliance on the particular information which he has, from most respectable and authentic sources received, he places much greater reliance upon the natural and inevitable tendency of the existence, throughout the afore-mentioned countries, of a general spirit of revolt against oppression and insult exercised by imbecility, and which spirit of revolt, together with which oppression, insult and imbecility are notorious to all the world. The history of nations, as your Petitioner humbly ventures to believe, furnishes no instance of the re-subjugation of a people, once in arms for their rights and perfectly enlightened as to the nature of those rights, unless such people were overwhelmed by an irresistible

combination of foreign Powers, a circumstance that cannot happen to the Spanish Independents, unless through the consent, or the connivance, of England, acting, as in such case she must, not only in violation of the dictates of justice and humanity, but, as your Petitioner humbly hopes he shall be able to show, in direct opposition to her own most important and most permanent interests.

10. In order to obtain an insight as to the probable consequences of the ultimate success of the Revolution of Spanish America, especially as those consequences will affect, permanently as well as for the present, the prosperity and power of England, and that he might be able the better to discharge his duty to your Royal Highness and his country, your Petitioner has carefully attended to the nature of the products throughout the territories which are the subject of his petition. And, as to this matter, he begs leave humbly to beseech your Royal Highness to bear in mind that Mexico produces all those articles of commerce, which are produced in the United States, such as cotton, tobacco, ship-timber, and many others, and, besides these, cochineal, indigo, dye-woods, and mahogany, while it abounds in those mines of silver and of gold, of which the United States have none. The city of Mexico, situated nearly about the centre of this Viceroyalty, and which city contains a hundred and eighty thousand inhabitants, is blessed with a climate that knows no winter; a never-fading verdure clothes the fields; two crops of any kind of European grain are, with facility, made, in the same year, to succeed each other on the same plot of ground,

and even two crops of maize, or Indian corn, while one crop of this latter grain is the utmost that can, even with difficulty, be raised in the Northern part of the United States. In the Division of New Grenada and Venezuela, which approaches more towards the South, all the products of Mexico abound. Here, as to the Mines, silver and gold receive the addition of platina metal. Tobacco is here produced long acknowledged to be the finest in the world. The vine and the olive have been forbidden by Despotism to produce wine and oil in this their favourite climate, lest these countries should, in this respect, injure Old Spain. At Chili, where the people have been permitted to make wine for their own use only, a proof has been afforded of the eminence to which almost every part of these territories would, if free and independent, speedily arrive, to the great injury, no doubt, of France and Spain and some other of the nations of Europe, but to the incalculable benefit of England. In the Division of Buenos Ayres and Chili; in that of Peru; in every part of these territories, are produced all that the United States produce, with a small portion of the labour required in the latter. Hides and Tallow, from droves roaming at pleasure, unfed and unsheltered, are even now an object of considerable traffic, and, under independent governments, would naturally become such to an immense extent. Lumber and all the articles in wood, together with flour, rice, and all the articles of food, occasionally necessary to England or to her West India Colonies, and which articles are now chiefly supplied by the United States, would, at a much cheaper rate, all be supplied from Mexico

and the other countries bordering on the West India Seas, while the resources arising therefrom to these new nations could not possibly, at any period of time, be employed, like the resources of the United States, in the formation of a marine threatening to rival, sooner or later, the Navy of England.

11. But, amongst the articles, in which Mexico, and more especially New Grenada and Venezuela would supplant the United States, there is one, which your Petitioner humbly presumes to point out as worthy of the particular notice of your Royal Highness. The articles of rice, flour and tobacco are, each of them, of great importance, but that of *cotton* far surpasses any description within the humble powers of your Petitioner to give. The annual amount of this article of raw material, imported into England from the United States, great as that amount is, bears no proportion in point of consequence to the circumstances of its being the material of one of the greatest English manufactures, giving employment to a multitude of hands, causing an immense capital to be productively employed, and the interruption of a sufficient supply of which raw material must of necessity be attended with injuries too obvious to be ~~delivered~~ and too great not to be, if possible, provided against. In the territories which are the subject of this Petition, and especially in those which border on the Gulf of Mexico and on the West India Sea, cotton is not only naturally of a quality greatly superior to that of the United States, but it is produced at a small portion of the expense demanded by the cultivation of that of the last-mentioned country. So that, if

the territories of Spanish America were freed from the monopoly, the restrictions, and all the selfish and oppressive shackles imposed by Spain; if industry and enterprise were left to take their natural course, those countries would furnish the English manufactures with the most essential article of raw material at a price greatly reduced, and the close friendship which must necessarily exist between England and those territories would prevent the supply from being interrupted by any of the clashings of interest or any of the casualties of war.

12. If your Royal Highness's Ministers, too busily engaged in the promoting of Holy Alliances abroad and in sacrificing the freedom of the people to the interest of an usurping Borough faction at home, have overlooked these obvious commercial consequences of the success of the Revolution in Spanish America, and have also overlooked those still more important consequences of a military and naval character, of which your Petitioner will by-and-by beg to be permitted to speak, the Rulers of the United States, have, as he will now humbly proceed to show, overlooked neither the one nor the other, but seem to have had all those consequences clearly in their view, and to have done all that lay in their power to prevent them accordingly.

13. Your Petitioner will not so far presume the existence of perfidy in your Royal Highness's Envoys, or Ministers; as to suppose your Royal Highness not to have been informed, that the Envoys from the Patriot Governments have been refused to be received, in that capacity, by the Government of the United States; but he does presume, that perfidy, or,

at least, criminal negligence, must have existed somewhere, because, otherwise, an Act, which was passed by the Congress on the third day of March last, would, with all possible speed, have been laid before your Royal Highness, and in which case your Petitioner is sure that the said Act would have been, by your Royal Highness's order, communicated to the two Houses of Parliament. This being the firm conviction of your Petitioner, he deems it his duty to recite here the words of this Act, and to subjoin to the recital such matter as appears to him necessary to exhibit a clear view of all the bearings and intentions of this singular and most important document.

An Act more effectually to preserve the neutral relations of the United States.

Section 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That if any person shall, within the limits of the United States, fit out and arm, or attempt to fit out and arm, or procure to be fitted out and armed, or shall knowingly be concerned in the furnishing, fitting out or arming of any ship or vessel, with intent that such ship shall be employed in the service of any foreign prince or state, or of any colony, district, or people, to cruise or commit hostilities, or to aid or co-operate in any warlike measure whatever against the subjects, citizens, or property of any prince or state, or of any colony, district, or people, with whom the United States are at peace, every such person so offending shall, upon conviction, be adjudged guilty of a high

misdemeanor, and shall be punished and imprisoned at the discretion of the court in which the conviction shall be had, so as the fine to be imposed shall in no case be more than *ten thousand dollars*, and the term of imprisonment shall not exceed *ten years*; and every such ship or vessel, with her tackle, apparel and furniture, together with all materials, arms, ammunition and stores, which may have been procured for the building and equipment thereof, shall be forfeited, one half to the use of any person who shall give information, and the other half to the use of the United States.

Section 2. And be it further enacted, That the owners of all armed ships, sailing out of the ports of the United States, and owned wholly or in part by citizens thereof, shall enter into bond to the United States, with sufficient sureties, prior to clearing out the same, in double the amount of the value of the vessel and cargo on board, including her armament, that the said ship or vessel shall not be employed by such owners, in cruising or committing hostilities, or in aiding or co-operating in any warlike measure against the subjects, citizens, or property of any prince or state, or of any colony, district, or people, with whom the United States are at peace.

Section 3. And be it further enacted, That the collectors of the customs be, and they are hereby respectively authorized and required to detain any vessel manifestly built for warlike purposes, and about to depart from the United States, of which the cargo shall principally con-

"*sist of arms and munitions of war*, when the number of men shipped on board, or *other circumstances*, shall render it *probable* that such vessel is intended to be employed by the owner or owners to cruise or commit hostilities upon the subjects, citizens, or property of any prince or state, or of any colony, district, or people, with whom the United States are at peace, until the decision of the President be had thereupon, or until the owner enters into bond, and sureties to the United States prior to clearing out the same, in double the amount of the value of the *vessel and cargo on board*, including her armament, that the said ship or vessel shall not be employed by the owner or owners, in cruising or committing hostilities, or in aiding or co-operating in any warlike measure against the subjects, citizens, or property of any prince or state, or of any colony, district, or people, with whom the United States are at peace.

"Section 4. And be it further enacted; That if any person shall, within the territory or jurisdiction of the United States, *increase or augment*, or procure to be increased or augmented, or shall be *knowingly concerned* in increasing or augmenting the *force* of any ship of war, cruiser, or other armed vessel, which at the time of her arrival within the United States, was a ship of war, cruiser, or other armed vessel, in the service of a foreign prince, or state, or of any colony, district, or people, or belonging to the subjects, or citizens of any such prince, state, colony, district, or people, the same being at war with any foreign prince or state,

"with whom the United States are at peace, by adding to the number or size of the guns of such vessels prepared for use, or by the addition thereto of any equipment, solely applicable to war, every such person so offending shall, upon conviction, be adjudged guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall be fined and imprisoned, at the discretion of the court in which the conviction shall be had, so as that such fines shall not exceed one thousand dollars, nor the term of imprisonment be more than one year.

"Section 5. And be it further enacted, That this Act shall continue in force for the term of two years. "H. CLAY,

"Speaker of the House of Representatives."

"JOHN GAILLARD,

"President of the Senate,"

"pro tempore.

"Approved,

"JAMES MADISON."

"May 3, 1817."

14. With regard to the *Title* of this Act, your Petitioner begs leave humbly to represent to your Royal Highness, that it is a perfect novelty, in the history of nations, for any Government to pass laws to punish its citizens or subjects for violating the public laws of neutrality; that the law of nations provides the punishment which, upon this score, nations have deemed to be amply sufficient; that, in virtue of this law, every citizen, or subject, of a neutral State is, if he trade to a belligerent State in articles contraband of war and such as are enumerated in this Act, liable to have those articles seized and condemned by the belligerent with whose enemy he so trades; that this general law of nations has

rendered any interference in such cases, on the part of neutral governments, wholly unnecessary; that if individual citizens or subjects, belonging to a neutral State, supply one of the belligerent Powers with arms, or other munitions of war, the other belligerent has no ground of complaint against the neutral State, seeing that such offending belligerent has, by the law of nations, the right, lodged in its own hands, of punishing such individuals. That, the matter has been, thus, wisely settled by the law of nations; for, if neutral States were to acknowledge, as a duty, the passing of laws to punish their citizens or subjects for violations of the laws of neutrality, neutral States would, by such acknowledgment, give to any, and to every belligerent a right to demand of them the passing of such laws, and, thus, would one nation have a right to dictate to another nation not only punishments, but the measure of punishments, to be inflicted on that other nation's citizens or subjects, and this, as your Royal Highness need not be reminded, is a species of degradation, to which no really independent nation has ever submitted.

15. It appears, therefore, evident to your Petitioner, and he ventures humbly to express his conviction, that it will appear evident to your Royal Highness and to the whole English People (for whose benefit, as your Royal Highness has publicly and truly declared, your Royal Father wears his crown), that the above-recited Act of the American Congress was not called for by any neutral duty known to the law of nations, and that it could not, in any wise, possibly be necessary to the preservation of the neutral relations of the United States. Besides, it will at

once occur to your Royal Highness and to the People of the whole Kingdom to ask, how it happens, that, in order to preserve its neutral relations, an anxiety, on the part of the American Government, so extreme as to produce this signal work of supererogation, has now, for the first time, made its appearance to the world? The Government of the United States has had to preserve its neutrality during many years of war amongst the European States, and, which is exactly in point, during a long and sanguinary struggle between France and her important colony of St. Domingo; and yet, as your Petitioner begs leave to state, the Congress has never before passed an Act to punish its citizens for trading in articles contraband of war; and, of course, it has now, for the first time, discovered, that such Acts are necessary to the preservation of its neutral relations, which discovery appears, too, to be the more extraordinary, as its effects manifestly tend to prevent a people, groaning under the worst of Despotisms, from obtaining any share of that freedom and that happiness, to have obtained which by an open war against the Mother Country is the boast of the People of these United States.

16. Moreover, with regard to the principle of this law of the American Congress, your Petitioner begs leave humbly to observe to your Royal Highness, that, it not only imposes a new, and hitherto unheard-of, duty, and a most weighty responsibility, on the Governments which shall adopt it as a precedent; but that cases may frequently arise, in which, to act upon this principle, would be, in substance, though

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not in form, to take a part in the war; and, of course, to commit hostility on one or the other of the belligerents; for, if one of the belligerent nations have, within herself, or, at her command, an ample supply of arms and of all the munitions of war; and if the other must necessarily depend upon neutrals for such supply, your Petitioner humbly conceives that there can be no doubt in the mind of your Royal Highness, that a neutral nation, who should pass an Act, commanding her people to carry arms, or munitions of war, to neither of the belligerents, would, under the outward show of impartiality, be, in fact, guilty of obvious partiality in favour of the well-armed and well-provided belligerent, would, in reality, join that belligerent in hostility against the un-armed and un-provided belligerent; and would thus afford full justification to the latter to consider, and act towards, such neutral nation as an enemy. So that the principle upon which this law of the American Congress professes to proceed, instead of tending to preserve the neutral relations of States, must, as appears to your Petitioner, naturally tend to make such States, sooner or later, parties in every contest between other nations; and, instead of repressing and confining, must tend to render boundless the extent, the duration and the vicissitudes of war.

17. Feeling, as your Petitioner does, profound respect for the American Congress, as the real representatives of a people truly free, as legislators whose seats are not obtained by the base means of bribery and corruption, as men whose votes are not the price of wealth wrung from the hard hands of a toiling and starving nation;

and feeling, too, great gratitude towards the whole American people for that protection which the effects of their wisdom, virtue and valour now afford him against the power of the Borough-faction, who so daringly oppress and insult his native country: with these feelings in his breast, it is with unaffected grief, that your Petitioner, in proceeding most humbly to solicit the attention of your Royal Highness to the provisions of this Act of the Congress, finds himself compelled to express his confident belief, that your Royal Highness will, in the three first Sections of the Act, clearly perceive all that impartiality in words and all that partiality in tendency and in object; so manifest in the above supposed case; and of which supposed case of pretended neutrality and of real hostility, this Act of Congress is. It appears to your Petitioner, nothing short of a full, practical illustration. But while, in the three first Sections, the Act assumes, and closely wears, the garb of impartiality, in the fourth Section, which is the most material, this garb becomes loosened, and renders visible the real character of the Act. For, while this Section forbids the augmentation of the force of any vessel belonging to any foreign prince, state, colony, district, or people, if such prince, state, colony, district, or people be at war with any foreign prince or state, with whom the United States are at peace; while this Section forbids this, it does not forbid the augmentation of the force of any vessel belonging to any prince, state, colony, district, or people, if neither of these be at war with a prince or state; so that, as Old Spain is not at war with a prince or state, but with colonies, districts,

or *people*, the vessels belonging to Old Spain may enter, receive augmentation of force, and sail out again to make war upon the *colonies*, which colonies are neither *princes* nor *states*; but the colonies of Spanish America, being at war with a *prince* or *state*, can enjoy none of those advantages which are here exclusively given to their inexorable oppressor.

18. That a Government, founded on the principles of the natural and unalienable rights of man, and arising out of a revolt of colonists against the mother country, because that mother country, by her conduct, gave them good reason to apprehend oppression at some future day; that a Government, chosen by a people, who annually listen to orations from the pulpit, in praise of Revolution, who, by all kinds of demonstrations of joy, celebrate their successful revolt, and who hold in the highest reverence the persons and memory of all the men, who distinguished themselves in the securing of that success; that a Government which boasts, and justly boasts, of exhibiting to the world a practical proof, that the greatest degree of political, civil and religious liberty is perfectly consistent with the greatest degree of public order, tranquillity, and obedience to the laws, and also with the greatest degree of national security in time of war; that a Government, which holds, in the broadest sense, the right of men to cast off, or transfer, their allegiance; which tenders the right of citizenship, and promises protection as citizens, to all men of all nations upon the sole condition of a five years' residence and an oath abjuring all allegiance to their native sovereigns and country; that a Government

thus implanted, thus growing up, thus extending its sheltering branches and dropping its nourishing fruits; that such a Government, should have voluntarily passed an Act, punishing with severity, surpassing, in fact, the penalty of immediate death, such of its own citizens as may aid or abet the colonists of Spain, compared to whose real and actual oppression all that the people of the United States could possibly have apprehended from England was as the finger of the dwarf weighed against the loins of the giant; that such a Government should have passed such an Act, must, if men suppress their indignation, necessarily excite throughout the world the utmost degree of sorrow and surprise.

19. But, if your Royal Highness shall be graciously pleased to advert to what your Petitioner has humbly stated in the foregoing part of this his Petition, relative to the superiority in point of products, and relative to all the numerous commercial advantages, which would enable the Spanish colonies, if become free and independent governments, speedily to rival, to surpass and supplant the United States, and more especially if your Royal Highness shall, in your great condescension, be pleased to suffer your Petitioner humbly to draw your attention to the prodigious effect which the liberation of the Spanish Colonies must necessarily have on the United States in a naval and military point of view, your Petitioner is fully persuaded, that all ground for surprise at the passing of the above recited Act of Congress will wholly disappear; and that, though it may be difficult, upon moral principles, to find a

justification for that extraordinary measure, the Congress will clearly appear to have displayed, upon this occasion, a degree of political foresight and wisdom equal to that of its legislative energy, it being impossible not to perceive, that the real object of this measure is, to prevent the independence of Spanish America from giving a great check to the increase of the population, pecuniary resources, commerce, naval power and territorial dominion of the United States.

20. While this enlightened body of legislators so clearly saw, that the independence of Spanish America generally would naturally and necessarily divert the current of European emigration from the United States to the more genial climes of the South, whither the taste for novelty, the love of ease, and the desire of gain, are all pressingly invited, and where they are all promised indulgence in the most ample degree; while the Congress clearly saw, that the independence of those countries could not fail to take from the United States the chief part of their export of tobacco, rice, flour and cotton, these staples of their commerce, the Congress also saw, that a proportionate diminution would, from the same cause, arise in the amount of imported articles, which are the objects of exchange for the products exported, and the Custom Duties on which imported articles form the main part of the pecuniary means of the United States wherewith to maintain and increase their Navy and to defray the interest of their Public Debt; while the Congress must have seen clearly, and with great anxiety, these inevitable consequences of the independence of Spanish America generally, that

body could not have seen but with real alarm the prospect of the establishment of a free and independent Government in Mexico, a country bordering on the United States for many hundreds of miles, surpassing the United States in white population, having a capital city with nearly two hundred thousand inhabitants, abounding in mines of the precious metals, abounding in ship-timber and in seaports in both oceans, having, from the very nature of things, the absolute command of the mouth of the Mississippi, the great and only outlet to all the most fertile and flourishing of the United States, and, above all, a country, which every interest and every feeling must necessarily bind in fast and permanent alliance with England.

21. But, while your Royal Highness and His Majesty's faithful People will clearly perceive, that it was, and is, perfectly natural for the Congress to feel anxiety and alarm at the appearance of these impending consequences of the independence of Spanish America; that sentiments of patriotism and considerations of duty might make them dread, and endeavour to prevent, a Revolution, which, if successful, would check the growth of the resources and power of their own country; which would raise up and establish rivals in liberty as well as in power, on the same continent; which, while it put a stop to the increase of their own marine, would create other American marines, sufficient to cope with theirs in point of force, and naturally in constant rivalry with it; which would make England the absolute arbitress amongst all the transatlantic nations, and which, while it necessarily tended to enrich the manufacturers, mer-

chants and ship-owners of England, as necessarily tended to give to the English Flag an undisputed predominance on the seas for ages beyond the reach of human foresight or calculation: while your Royal Highness and His Majesty's faithful People will perceive, that, with these prospects and considerations in their minds, it was perfectly natural and patriotic in the Congress, to endeavour to prevent the success of the Revolution in the Spanish colonies, your Petitioner does not hesitate to express his firm belief, that your Royal Highness and the People will also perceive, that the inactivity, the torpor, the cold-hearted indifference, shown, on this occasion, by the Ministers of your Royal Highness, are altogether as unnatural and as unpatriotic, and discover a want of even the most ordinary feeling equally for the interests of the country and for the honour of His Majesty's Crown.

22. It being always less painful to impute mischief to folly than to wickedness, gladly would your humble Petitioner ascribe this inactivity, this torpor, this cold-hearted indifference, so manifestly injurious to his country and his king, and apparently so unaccountable, wholly to that want of talent, that incapacity for the managing of great affairs, that grovelling propensity of mind, for which the Ministers are so strongly characterized and are so notorious; but, the same sense of duty towards your Royal Highness and towards his beloved country, which has urged your Petitioner to submit, with feelings of great diffidence and humility, to your Royal Highness the foregoing representation, also urges him to declare it to be his conviction, though, as an

Englishman, the declaration covers him with shame, that this inactivity, this torpor, this cold-hearted indifference, this shameful neglect of the interest, the happiness, and the glory of England, are chiefly, if not solely, to be ascribed to a reluctance to suffer the taking of any part in behalf of the Spanish colonies, lest the principles of Holy Alliances and of pretended Legitimacy should thereby receive their condemnation and their overthrow, and lest, upon the ruins of those detestable principles and upon those of the Borough-faction, the rights and liberties of the People of England and the just powers and prerogatives of their lawful Sovereign should be built on sure and lasting foundations; for, while your Petitioner is too well aware of the magnanimity which prevails in the breast of your Royal Highness and not less in that of the nation, to suppose either capable of being, upon this occasion, actuated by feelings of revenge for the conduct of the Family of Bourbon, during the North American Revolution, and, while he has too great a dread of the just displeasure of your Royal Highness to suffer him, for one moment, to entertain the thought of daring to suggest to your Royal Highness to act upon the example of that Family; he cannot refrain from humbly expressing his hope, that your Royal Highness, who well recollects that memorable instance of envy, insolence and perfidy, will see, therein, no reason that England, by standing with her arms folded, should now make a manifest sacrifice of her present and permanent interests and of her immortal glory, lest, in the frank and honourable pursuit of these, she should sterilize the Vineyards of France and

dry up the sources of the Treasury of Spain.

Therefore, your Petitioner, well assured that your Royal Highness can have no feeling, not in perfect harmony with the interest and honour of the nation, and also well assured of your Royal Highness's disposition to listen with indulgence to the representations and prayers of even the most obscure of His Majesty's faithful People, ventures, upon the grounds of that assurance, to pray, that your Royal Highness will be graciously pleased to espouse, in the manner which to your Royal wisdom shall seem meet, the cause of the Colonies and Countries which have been the subject of this his most humble Petition.

And your Petitioner,

As in humble duty bound,

Will ever pray.

WM. COBBETT.

Now, Gentlemen, you see how very little is known of this matter by those who imagine, that the United States will make a stand for South America! But, the thing to look at most attentively, is, the difference which there would have been in our present situation, if the advice of this Petition had been followed. Instead of this, the pretty gentlemen were busy as bees passing a "*foreign enlistment bill*." There was France with our troops and the troops hired by us, *quartered on her*: there was the King of Spain in the midst of the howlings of a revolution: there were all the Holy Allies with their hands full, and still getting *hute driblets* of money out of us. The South American States might all have been, not only acknowledged, but settled down under stable governments before our troops quitted

France. But, "No," said our pretty and cunning gentlemen: "We will not acknowledge them, but we sanction the principles of the Jacobins." But, now, what it is too late, they would finis acknowledge them; but they dare not for fear of those very French, whom they had in military occupation, when they refused to acknowledge the new States. In 1817, just about the time that I was writing my Petition to the Regent, there was little Ruman bringing his Bill into the Lords to punish Englishmen for assisting the South Americans; and, well do I remember, that one of his arguments in support of the bill was, that just such a bill had been passed by the Congress of the United States! Good God! How we laughed in America! So, because the United States, whose interest it was to prevent the South American States from being independent, because they passed such a bill, each a bill must be passed by us, whose interest it was that those States should be independent, and that, too, as soon as possible.

It is true, that the United States have, since 1817, acknowledged the independence of some of the new States. But, this has been done merely on speculation; merely to obtain present commercial advantages, and to be prepared, lest we should acknowledge them. The United States *was*, because they dread, the independence of South America. And deceived indeed are those, who imagine, that the United States would take part with us in asserting, in arms, the independence of Spanish America. They would take part with us IN NOTHING; mind that: but, *not* and that must be read, who imagine, that they would join us in a war to estab-

blish, at their own doors, *rivals for them and allies for us?* At this very moment the French possess an assurance on the part of the United States, that the latter are ready to withdraw their acknowledgment of the South American States. I would pledge my life on this fact, notwithstanding our metaphor-hatching Secretary of State has just discovered that the United States are to us what a dear, sweet boarding-school daughter, "who has formed an improper connexion," is to a fond, forgiving *mamma*. The French are sure of the United States; and, if the encroachments of the French should, at last, lead to war by them and Spain against us, *their commerce* and that of Spain would be carried on by the United States; or, these latter would join them in the war against us.

Let us now, Gentlemen, look at the present state of things, and then see what would have been the state of things, if the prayer, the express prayer, of the above petition had been acted on. France has now complete possession of Old Spain and of all her means. You will bear in mind, that, our Secretary (who seems destined to have a great hand in sinking the country) protested, in his closing despatch before the French marched into Spain, *against a military occupation of Spain by France*; and also against any recolonizing scheme as to South America. He does not appear to have known, at that time, *how far he had to fall*. I had been, in the STATESMAN (in which I then wrote), and in the Register, asserting, day after day and week after week, that it was not the revolution in Spain that the French cared about; but, that they wanted to get the *ports and fleets and re-*

sources of Spain into their hands; and, finally, the *mines* of Mexico and Peru. Our man of metaphors, our "heir to the inkstand," as the French call him, thought that he must not close his series of despatches without letting us see, that he had taken care to guard against the French doing what I said they intended to do. And so, in his winding-up despatch, he has, as to the first of these subjects, the following words:—"The repeated disavowal, by His Most Christian Majesty's Government, of all views of ambition and aggrandizement, forbids the suspicion of any design on the part of France, to establish a permanent military occupation of Spain; or to force His Catholic Majesty into any measures, derogatory to the independence of his Crown, or to his existing relations with other Powers."

The man of metaphor was told, in the debate, that he was here a *dupe* or a *hypocrite*; no, said he, that does not follow; and I was neither; for, my words, being fairly interpreted, mean, *that we will not permit France to establish a permanent military occupation of Spain*. This was the fair interpretation; but, will he now stand to this? Oh! yes: for France will make a *treaty with Spain*, and will fix the time, the very day, and the hour if you like, for withdrawing her troops. Aye; but will she admit you to be a party to the treaty, and will she give you an adequate guarantee for its fulfilment? No; not she indeed; and, therefore, her military occupation of Spain is, of course, *to last as long as she pleases*, and that may be for forty years! The news relative to her taking possession of Cadiz is by no means

uninteresting. It is impossible for an Englishman to read it without hanging his head from shame. But we have a great deal worse than this to endure; and the sooner we begin the better.

"Previous to the departure of the King from Cadiz, he had guaranteed to the Cortes that the Isla and Cadiz should be held inviolate from the entry of the French army. On the 2d, however, all the troops in Cadiz were marched into the Isla, and on the evening of the 3d, a battalion of French troops were transported across the Bay, from Puerto Real, and occupied the gates of the town, and the works as far as the Quartadura inclusive. Another detachment advanced to the South extremity of the Isla, and took possession of the bridge of Portasco. At nine o'clock on the ensuing morning, the Spanish troops began their evacuation of the Isla, with the exception of the traitor regiment of St. Mariá; the officers and men looked dejected and despirited; a deep melancholy marked all countenances; many heavy interviews and adieus passed as the troops thus gave place to their enemies. By ten o'clock the Spaniards had evacuated San Fernando, and the French troops began their entry. They consisted entirely of light infantry, and their gby appearance, and excellent order and equipment, formed a strong contrast to the sad looks and worn appointments of the Spaniards; hundreds of whom were without great coats and gaiters, and many bare-footed. As the French entered, the bells of the church, and various convents, saluted them with a violent clangour of discordant chimes, and several priests were seen at the balconies of the houses, gazing on the spectacle with countenances of half-suppressed satisfaction. On the morning of the 3d, a French General came over to Cadiz, to arrange the billets of the troops by which it was to be occupied, and gave orders for 5000 rations and 3 pipes of wine daily. On the 4th the troops were ferried over from Porto Real, and entered the place. They consisted of the Guards, a Swiss battalion, and four regiments of Light Infantry. Their appearance was excellent; they were generally composed of fine young men, and were in the best order. Since the entrance of the French all has been fear and anxiety. A report is prevalent, and it is on good authority, that there is a secret arrangement by which the French are to occupy Spain for six years, as an in-

demnity for the expense of the war. This report is supported by the fact that on the 5th and 6th of Oct. the French Engineers had begun to make surveys and preparations for repairing and increasing to a considerable extent the fortifications of Cadiz."

It is added, that some Englishman having remarked to some of the French officers, that "the British Government would, undoubtedly, take strong measures, against any permanent occupation of Cadiz," they answered, "You have Gibraltar, why not we have Cadiz." This is, indeed, newspaper news; but, who can believe, that Cadiz will ever be given up by the French without our giving up either Gibraltar, or Guernsey and Jersey, or Malta, or something in that way? This, therefore, is "permanent occupation," just as much as any occupation can be. I am in possession of this house; and my occupation is *not permanent*, because there is a *treaty* (the lease) according to which I am to march out on a certain day; but, I may set this treaty at defiance, and then my occupation *will be permanent*, notwithstanding the bit of parchment. No: I cannot do this, I cannot set the treaty at defiance, and cannot hold on, because there is a *third party*, an *umpire*, who is able to *force me to fulfil the treaty*: there is the Court of King's Bench, with writs and capias and its tipstaves, sheriffs, constables, marshals, and God knows what besides. But, where will the *third party* be in the present case? Will France let us meddle with the matter? Faith, she snapped Mr. CANNING's nose nearly off, when he offered the mediation of his master; and is it likely, that she will admit us into a treaty relative to the use that she is to make of her success? It is madness to suppose, such a

thing; therefore, the occupation is permanent; and it only remains for us to hear the poor, pitiful, miserable excuse that will be offered for not attempting to act upon the protest above quoted from the despatch of 31st March 1823.

As to the States of South America, the same despatch spoke in the same sort of way. It is the curse of the feeble never to speak out plain. However, we have a protest here again, if Mr. CANNING were not dupe or hypocrite. "With respect," says he, "to the Provinces in America, which have thrown off their allegiance to the Crown of Spain, time and the course of events appear to have substantially decided their separation from the Mother Country; although the formal recognition of those Provinces, as Independent States, by His Majesty, may be hastened or retarded by various external circumstances, as well as by the more or less satisfactory progress, in each State, towards a regular and settled form of Government. Spain has long been apprized of His Majesty's opinions upon this subject. Disclaiming in the most solemn manner any intention of appropriating to himself the smallest portion of the late Spanish possessions in America, His Majesty IS SATISFIED THAT NO ATTEMPT WILL BE MADE BY FRANCE, to bring under her dominion any of those possessions, either by conquest, or by cession, from Spain."

If there ever was any thing more silly, more completely idiot-like, than any other thing that ever was heard of before, it is this very paragraph, taken in conjunction with what has since been done by our Government. If the colonies

were separated from Spain; why not acknowledge their independence? But, Good God! - the "external circumstances!" However, here are the possessions called "late Spanish;" and here is a protest against France making any attempt to conquer to obtain by cession any of those possessions. This is the touchstone. Here is the protest: and will the man of the two red lions stand to it? Oh, no: not he; and yet, what shuffle will he have; what metaphor; what miserable device? France will say, perhaps, that she does not recolonise the South American Provinces for herself; but for Spain. And, when we ask her to give them up to Spain, she will, doubtless, say, "oui, mon cher" (for she will be very kind), "when you, who took the Cape for the Stadtholder and Malta for the Knights, and the Toulon Fleet for the King of France, and the Dutch Fleet for the Stadtholder, shall give them up to the respective parties." It is nonsense, Gentlemen, to talk of such stuff. To affect to believe, that the French will not have permanent military occupation of Spain, and that she will not try, at least, to recolonise South America for her own aggrandizement; to affect to believe these things is merely a trick resorted to by conscious feebleness, in order to disguise its shame.

Such is our state with regard to France. How different would it have been if my prayer of 1817 had been attended to! How different! There would now have been several powerful States, our allies, on the other side of the Atlantic. The United States would have had more than one bridle in their mouth. The French never would have marched into Spain;

for, the *prize*, the mines, would have been taken away for ever. Besides, our own internal situation would have been different. It would have been impossible to side, openly and effectually, with the revolted States, *without making a reform in England*. That would have enabled the Government to reduce the interest of the Debt; and that would have enabled it to hold such a language as would have prevented the Holy Allies from ever dreaming about holding a Congress at Verona.

Ah! to this, then, it comes back, at last! It is the *Debt*: that is the bar to all exertion: and that cannot be touched *without a Reform*. "Perish all, rather!" say the Borough-villains. No: you corrupt wretches, *all* will not perish. A good deal will perish: but, *all* will not; and, in the mean while, stupid and base is the man, who does not rejoice at *whatever annoys* you. I am satisfied, that, without a reduction of the interest of the Debt, France will go on till she has made us a *very little nation*, whatever lies we may publish about the *population* of "this mighty Empire." The "*Kingdom*" of France will *empire* us in a very few years. The man, who does not see that this will be the case, must be a downright fool. And, again and again I say, there is no way of preventing this but the making of a *Radical Reform*; and, rather than see that take place, the corrupt knaves of Boroughmongers would *see the country actually sold to the French*. There are all the means; this country possesses all the means of recovering the ground she has lost, of inflicting punishment on the Government of France, of keeping the United States in check, of maintaining our naval

dominion; but, *without Reform*, we possess the means of doing none of these, nor of doing *any one* thing to check the progress of that power, which appears now to *have* set itself seriously to work to *humble* us. Spain is *settled*; and we have now to watch the *workings* as to those countries, which, eight months ago, our Government called, the "*late possessions of Spain*." Pray, Gentlemen, observe *the conduct of the United States*. You will see how little our Government knows of their character and views. Watch the *language* of our Ministers. See how *tame* it will be. See how ingenious they will be in discovering apologies for the encroachments of the French and for their own long-suffering.

But, after all, the security of the Ministers lies in the insincerity, folly, or cowardice, of their opponents. Those opponents have no ground of *blame*, unless they *call for war*; they cannot call for war, unless they call also for a *reduction of the interest of the Debt*; they cannot call for this, unless they call for *reform*. This is against their very nature, or, at least, against that of forty-nine fiftieths of them; and, this being the case, they have *no ground for blaming the Ministers*. Even if these latter were now, or when Parliament meet, to endeavour to shuffle and jostle and wriggle and sneak out of the *protest*, in the *déspatch* of the 31st of March, and were to say, that it was written under the anguish of an attack of the gout, and did not mean, that the French ought not to occupy Spain permanently, and that they ought not to take part of South America: even if the Ministers were to say this, and their opponents were to express indignation at it; *what*,

even in that case, would the Ministers have to say more than this : " *Well, then, do you wish us to go to war?*" The lips of their opponents are glued up in a moment. "We have *protested*," say the Ministers, "and Monsieur Chateaubriand has *laughed* at our protest. To declare war is all that we can now do; and do you wish us to declare war? Speak out like men; or ever after hold your tongue." This would silence the "*gentlemen opposite*" at once. They could say nothing at which we should not laugh even more heartily than Monsieur Chateaubriand laughed at the "*protest*."

Well, say you, but, after all, is this *real*? Or, is it a dream? Is it, can it, be true, that the French, for his share in *conquering* whom, we paid, in one way and another, *about seven hundred thousand pounds to one single man*: can it be true, that these French, whose pictures and statues were seized no longer ago than in 1815: can it be, that these same French, who paid us *tribute* only about four years ago: can it be, that they have now actually overrun and taken real possession of a country, which we called the *great out-cork of England*, and to get them out of which cost us a hundred and fifty millions of guineas: can all this be true? Yes; very true; and this is only a little beginning of a long series of humiliations that we have to endure. Again I say, that we *possess all the means* of saving ourselves from this disgrace; but again I say also, that those means are of no avail without a real *Reform of the Parliament*.

I have now performed my task: I have laid this subject fairly before you; and I am satisfied, that

it will not now be easy for the lying press of London and the stupid press of Norwich to deceive you as to any of the important matters of which I have treated. I cannot conclude, however, without a few words on the *impossibility of going to war without a blowing up of the Debt*. War would demand *thirty or forty millions of taxes* to be ADDED to the present. Can you pay *more taxes* than you now pay? It is to insult you to ask the question at a moment when pecuniary ruin sweeps over the country like a whirlwind. To go to war, and to *pay in gold* every one knows to be impossible. What, then, shall the *Bank Restriction* come back, and the bushel of wheat be 20s. again. Do you not see, that, if the Bank were (no matter from what cause) to stop again, it never could *resume*? Do you not see, that there must be *two prices*, or *Robespierre's bloody law*? So fully convinced are people of this, that the very rumour of war sinks the funds instantly; but, what would become of those funds, if *real war* were to exist? If any one suppose, that a paper-system could be adopted again, *because it was before*, let him remember how much better the secret is understood now than it was before. Let him remember, too, that, if we were to get out ships of war, they would not be permitted to *rifle* all nations, as they did before. Let him remember, further, that the nations now know well how to *tackle* those *who fight with paper-money*. In short, my conviction is, that the very first month of war, against either France or America, would see the whole mass of paper *puffed out*! Another war with a Bank Restriction would soon run the debt up to *two or three thou-*

and millions. Would you have another cash-payment at the peace? Monstrous idea! And yet, if there were no redemption for the paper, what would it be worth? Besides these things, there are the miseries and discontents of the people, especially in Ireland. If it demand nearly a hundred thousand men to protect the Government in time of peace, what will it demand in war? The commerce of France and Spain must be suffered to go unmolested under the American flag, or we must add the United States to our foes; and, in that case, how long will it be before an army land in Ireland from America? Or, do we repose in confidence, that PARSON MORRITT and his soldiers would beat the Yankees off?

Such are only a part of the perils that await this country, unless there be a reform of the parliament. That reform would suddenly change the face of every thing. There are those who have the power to make such reform. If they do it, let us applaud them; if they do it not, let us applaud those who annoy them.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your Friend and

Most obedient Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

JOURNAL OF A RIDE IN FRANCE.

THE last letter received from Mr. JAMES COBBETT is dated 28 October, and left him at BRIARE, on the Loire. He was just about to proceed on towards the South, after having looked over the farms, which, the readers of the Register will recollect, were, some little time back, advertised by Mr. HOGGART. The best thing is, seeing with your own eyes; and, the next best, seeing with the eyes of

some one who you know will not deceive you.—It was intended to insert in the Register *all the Letters* that should come from Mr. JAMES COBBETT; but, it has been found impossible to do it, without excluding all other matter, and, not even then, without enlarging the Register.—Some other mode must, therefore, be fallen upon; for, though the Editor of the Register is likely enough to see, in this case, with very partial eyes, he is sure, that he does not deceive himself, when he says, that the JOURNAL, though coming from so young a person, will be found worthy of general attention.—The writer of the JOURNAL says, that two Norfolk Farmers had taken two of the farms, advertised by Mr. HOGGART. Here are two families, at any rate, got away from the Parsons; and the Jews and Jobbers and the swarms of the Dead Weight; two families escaped from ruin.—Corruption is setting it about, that “Cobbett is going to France.” Oh, no! He will never quit the THING, while there is a possibility of giving it good hearty blows; nor will any one belonging to him. Let the Jolterheads, the beggared Jolterheads; let them decamp from a country that they have done all they could to destroy. Let those who are unable to do the THING harm, get out of its way; but, let all who are able to work the THING, remain and work it.—The great object of the Ride in France is to ascertain the real state of the people, and especially of the farmers and labouring classes, of that country, as to their dress, food, lodging, and so forth. To ascertain what prices really are, and wages, and rents. In short, to enable the people of England to judge correctly of the state of France, as to matters closely connected with the well-being of the people.—At BRIARE good wheat was 4s. 6d. the English bushel. This is dear for France; but the bread was much cheaper, in proportion, compared with ours.—However, any attempt to abridge the Journal would be worse than doing nothing. At present, it is intended

to publish it in *Numbers, Weekly*, at 6d. each Number. The author will reside some time in a village, living with the people, making *one of some country family*. This will enable him to take us into the houses and show us how they live.—Whether the Journal will be published in Numbers, or not, will, in all likelihood, be notified in the next Register.

FIRE-SHOVELS AND RAG-MEN.

THE last GAZETTE publishes two bankrupts, as follows: "The REVEREND Charles Caleb COLTON, late of Prince Street, WINE-MERCHANT." Bravo! This is not being like the "*Drones*" of Catholic Priests. This "*reformed*" priest appears to have been industrious enough.—Will any one be so good as to tell me, what living this COLTON has? In the Clerical Guide, I find but one COLTON, and to him I find no christian name; but merely "REV. D. — COLTON." Against his name I find TIVERTON: and, against one of the parishes of TIVERTON, I find COLTON, incumbent, and the patron, King's College, Cambridge. Now, is this the same COLTON? Will somebody (with a name, and that I know) at TIVERTON, tell me, whether the incumbent of Prior's Quarter be CHARLES CALEB COLTON, or not? If this be not the same man, it ought to be known: and, I think, the name of the man's benefice ought to have been stated in the Gazette.—This is the sort of Church! This is the real part and parcel of "the law of the land." This is the real "envy of surrounding nations and admiration of the world." Who would not be burnt at Smithfield for the sake of this?—Now comes a member of another branch of the envied and admired THING. "EDMUND JOHN GLYNN, late of Glynn and of Launceston and Bodmin, Cornwall, Banker." Somebody must have held his paper; and, who will be so base as to pity such holders, when, instead of his paper, they might have had gold in their pockets? How many poor, unin-

formed men may have been ruined, on this occasion, no one can tell. And, must not those be monsters then, who can regret, that a swindling, paper, mortgaging, pawning system has been overset in Spain? Spain will not, at any rate, have Parson Wine-merchant and Paper-money men. I should like to know, whether COLTON wore a great, white, bush wig! Where did he preach: for God's sake, where did he preach?

GAMING.

The whole country has been filled with horror by the murderers of Gill's-hill Cottage. But, the remark to make is, that the whole of the series of horrid crimes have proceeded, and naturally and regularly proceeded, from the gaming table. We are all apt to think well, and rather too well, of our own doings; but, I think that no one who has read it will deny, that, if all the parents in England were to read and pay attention to my Sermon, called, "THE GAMESTER," there would be a speedy end to the horrid crimes engendered at the gaming table. It is impossible to read the amount of the deeds of this band of desperate men, without being struck with the application of several passages in the Sermon. The murdered fellow had a dice-box and a betting-book as part of his travelling necessities! He was going on a visit to a stranger; to a house in which he never had been; and yet, he could provide himself with these things. In short, it was a band of gamblers, falling on upon each other; and, horrid as the acts were, they were nothing more than might have been expected. The gaming table is the great school of robbery and murder.

MARKETS.

Average Prices of CORN throughout ENGLAND, for the week ending 25th October.

Per Quarter.	
Wheat	48 9
Rye	28 3

Barley	25	11
Oats	20	5
Beans	33	10
Peas	32	2

Corn Exchange, Mark Lane.

Quantities and Prices of British Corn, &c. sold and delivered in this Market, during the week ended Saturday, 25th October.

	Qrs.	£.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Wheat... 9,534 for 25,487	14	8	Average, 53	2		
Barley... 3,610	8,243	8	1	29	0	
Oats... 10,107	12,312	19	4	24	4	
Rye... 14	22	6	0	31	10	
Beans... 1,412	2,361	10	0	33	5	
Peas... 1,331	2,348	3	6	36	7	

Quarters of English Grain, &c. arrived Coastwise, from Oct. 27 to Nov. 1, inclusive.

Wheat... 7,423	Pease.... 1,532
Barley... 3,413	Tares.... 144
Malt.... 2,733	Linseed... —
Oats.... 14,775	Rape..... 381
Rye..... 14	Brank..... 9
Beans... 1,893	Mustard... 35
Various Seeds 156, and Flax 13 qrs.	
—Flour 9,131 sacks.	

From Ireland.—Oats 3,385 qrs.

Foreign.—Linseed 2,935 qrs.

Friday, Oct. 31.—The arrivals of Grain of this week are only moderate, but our buyers are disposed to wait for further supplies; there is therefore not much business doing to-day, but prime parcels of Wheat fully support the prices last quoted. Barley for our Maltsters' use is again rather dearer. Beans and Peas remain unaltered. What few good Oats are here for sale, obtain full as much money as on Monday last. In Flour there is no variation.

Monday, Nov. 3.—There was a great increase in the quantities of Corn by the arrival of many vessels towards the close of last week; and the supply of Flour was likewise considerable. This morning the fresh arrivals at market consist chiefly of a tolerably fair show of samples of Wheat and Barley, from Essex and Kent, and a great many vessels from the northern parts with Oats. There has been a good sale for Wheat of prime quality to-day, on full as good terms as last Monday, but other sorts go off rather heavily.

Barley, both for malting and grinding, has again sold with freedom, and fully supports the terms of this day se'might. Old Beans that are dry, obtain rather more money, but soft samples go off heavily. Boiling Peas continue without variation. Grey Peas of good colour, obtain a trifling advance, but other sorts are unaltered. Old Oats find sale on much the same terms as last quoted, but New Oats have declined 1s. per quarter, at which there have been many sales made. Flour is unaltered.

COUNTRY CORN MARKETS.

By the QUARTER, excepting where otherwise named; from Wednesday to Saturday last, inclusive.

The Scotch Markets are the Returns of the Week before.

WHEAT.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Uxbridge, per load....	101	0s.	161	10s.
Aylesbury, ditto.....	87	0s.	151	0s.
Newbury.....	43	0	66	0
Reading.....	40	0	58	0
Henley.....	38	0	63	0
Banbury.....	42	0	56	0
Devizes.....	36	0	63	0
Warminster.....	40	0	64	0
Sherborne.....	0	0	0	0
Dorchester, per load...	121	0s.	171	0s.
Exeter, per bushel....	7	0	8	6
Lewes.....	42	0	52	0
Guildford, per load....	104	0s.	161	5s.
Winchester, ditto.....	43	0	66	0
Basingstoke.....	49	0	55	0
Chelmsford, per load...	91	0s.	151	10s.
Yarmouth.....	44	0	49	0
Hungerford.....	44	0	62	0
Lynn.....	36	0	52	0
Horncastle.....	36	0	45	0
Stamford.....	43	0	0	0
Northampton.....	42	0	46	0
Truro, 24 galls. to a bush.	19	9	0	0
Swansea, per bushel....	0	0	0	0
Nottingham.....	46	6	0	0
Derby, 34 quarts to bush.	48	0	57	0
Newcastle.....	38	0	57	0
Dalkeith, per boll *....	20	0	33	0
Haddington, ditto.....	23	6	32	6

* The Scotch boll is 3 per cent more than 4 bushels.

Liverpool, Oct. 28.—Since Tuesday last, although the arrivals of Grain were very inconsiderable, there has been but little business done in the trade by the Millers and Dealers here, much less by those from different parts of this

county (who most generally draw their supplies hence), in consequence of the markets of the interior having furnished them on more favourable terms. The market of this day, although tolerably well attended, was not productive of much business, in the expectation of early arrivals of New Grain from Ireland; and the wind having become westerly, it is probable those expectations will be soon realized. From these united circumstances, the alteration in value of any article of the trade is so very immaterial, as to leave the quotations of last week nominally the same as then advised.

Norwich, Nov. 1.—Things were not worse to-day; but rather manifested symptoms of improvement; Wheats found ready sale at 50s. to 54s.; though these include only prime samples, a vast deal being bought at prices considerably lower, say 40s. to 46s.; Barley sold freely at 28s. to 30s.; and Grey Peas, 26s. to 29s. and 30s. per quarter. Wheats still come to hand very cold and damp, and the late wet weather has not improved them.

Bristol, Nov. 1.—The supply of Grain, &c. at this place is very moderate, but notwithstanding, the business done is trifling. The following are about the present prices.—Best Wheat from 7s. 6d. to 7s. 9d.; inferior ditto, 4s. 6d. to 6s. 6d.; Barley, 2s. 9d. to 3s. 9d.; Beans, 3s. to 5s. 3d.; Oats, 2s. to 3s.; and Malt, 4s. 6d. to 6s. 9d. per bushel. Flour, Seconds, 22s. to 46s. per bag.

Ipswich, Nov. 1.—Our market to-day was very largely supplied with Barley and Wheat. Prices remain much as last week, as follow:—Old Wheat, 50s. to 60s.; New ditto, 40s. to 52s.; Barley, 25s. to 31s.; Beans, old, 34s.; Peas, 29s. to 34s.; and Oats, 20s. to 24s. per quarter.

Wisbech, Nov. 1.—Our market for Wheats of best quality may be noted brisk, at an advance of 1s. per quarter; inferior qualities without any alteration. Oats and Beans without any amendment.

Boston, Oct. 30.—We had a plentiful supply of Grain at this day's market, which continues the same as last week's prices, and sold as follows:—Wheat, 42s. to 47s.; Oats, 18s. to 22s.; Beans, 32s.; and Barley, 30s. per qr. Finest samples of Barley for malting, 32s.

Wakefield, Oct. 31.—We have a good supply of Grain up the river, and a good appearance of buyers. More money was demanded for fine Wheats in the morning, but the market closed dull, and inferior samples may be noted 1s. per qr. lower. In Meal and Oats and Shelling, no alteration. Beans fully support last week's prices. Malting Barley 1s. per quarter higher. No alteration in Malt, Flour, Peas, or Rapeseed.

City, 5 November 1823.

BACON.

Advices from all parts of Ireland represent the supply of Hogs as very scanty; and prices have accordingly advanced both here and there. A very trifling inducement is sufficient to set the Jobbers in motion: it is not surprising, therefore, that they are "all alive." In the mean time, some of the consequences which we predicted from last summer's speculation, have begun to be felt: a great many retailers have stopped payment. It is curious enough, that four or five years ago, an opinion very generally prevailed, that the best remedy for the evils of the trade, was, to limit the credit to one month instead of two: but up to this day, the shopkeepers have never been able to pay punctually in two months; and it is the opinion of persons pretty competent to judge, that an attempt to enforce payment at the end of two months, would cause more than half the retailers to stop payment.—On Board, 38s. to 40s.—Landed: New, 46s. to 48s.; Old, 36s. to 42s.

BUTTER.

Extraordinary efforts have been made to sustain the Butter market; we say to sustain it, for all thoughts of causing an advance seem to be given up for the present. Many,

who are not in the secret, wonder what can induce the jobbers to go on bringing goods from Ireland, with almost a certainty of loss: the reason is, that they can obtain credit in Ireland, when they cannot get it here: and the *Bills of Lading* are very convenient to put into the hands of those who have always "MONEY READY TO BE ADVANCED UPON GOODS INTENDED FOR IMMEDIATE SALE."—On board: Carlow, 78s. to 80s.—Belfast, 78s.—Dublin, 74s. to 75s.—Waterford, 73s. to 74s.—Cork, 72s. to 73s.—Limerick, 71s.—Newry, 74s.—Dundalk, 72s.—Landed: Carlow, 78s. to 82s.—Belfast, 78s. to 79s.—Dublin, 75s.—Waterford, 74s. to 75s.—Cork, 74s.—Limerick, 74s.—Dutch, 86s. to 88s.—Holstein, 76s. to 80s.—Embsen, 66s. to 68s.—A comparison of prices will show that there must be a considerable loss upon importation: and yet they go on!

CHEESE.

The Cheese trade continues dull; and prices as last quoted.

SMITHFIELD, Monday, Nov. 3.

Per Stone of 8 pounds (alive).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef.....	2	10	to	3 8
Mutton.....	3	0	—	3 10
Veal.....	3	8	—	5 0
Pork.....	4	0	—	4 8

Beasts ... 3,064	Sheep ... 20,470
Calves ... 180	Pigs 240

NEWGATE (same day).

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef.....	2	0	to	3 0
Mutton.....	2	0	—	3 0
Veal.....	2	8	—	4 4
Pork.....	3	0	—	5 0

LEADENHALL (same day).

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef.....	2	0	to	3 0
Mutton.....	2	8	—	3 2
Veal.....	3	4	—	5 0
Pork.....	2	8	—	4 8

POTATOES.

SPITALFIELDS.—per Ton.

Ware	£ 2 5	to	£ 3 15
Middlings.....	1 15	—	2 0
Chats.....	1 15	—	0 0
Common Red..	0 0	—	0 0
Onions..	0s. 0d.—0s. 0d.	per bush.	

BOROUGH.—per Ton.

Ware.....	£ 2 5	to	£ 3 15
Middlings.....	1 10	—	2 0
Chats.....	1 10	—	0 0
Common Red..	0 0	—	0 0
Onions..	0s. 0d.—0s. 0d.	per bush.	

HAY and STRAW, per Load.

Smithfield.—Hay ..	80s. to 105s.
Straw.....	30s. to 45s.
Clover.....	100s. to 120s.
St. James's.—Hay....	70s. to 118s.
Straw.....	33s. to 45s.
Clover.....	90s. to 120s.
Whitechapel.—Hay....	80s. to 110s.
Straw.....	40s. to 46s.
Clover.....	90s. to 135s.

Price of HOPS, per Cwt. in the BOROUGH.

Monday, Nov. 3.—More inquiry for 1819 and 1821 Hops; little or no variation in other sorts. Present Prices, 1823, Kent Pockets, 9l. to 15l.; Sussex ditto, 8l. 8s. to 11l. 4s.

Maidstone, Oct. 30.—The Hop Trade, if it may be called so, is totally at a stand here; we have scarcely heard of a sale this week, therefore quoting prices is out of question.

Worcester, Oct. 26.—99 pockets of Old Hops were this day weighed in our Market, and one tump of New, weighing only 13 lbs., the only Hops which have yet been sold here, the produce of this plantation.—1819's and 1821's sell well, if good: the sale of 1822's is very flat.—Prices: 1822's, 8l. 8s. to 10l. 10s.; 1821's, 4l. 6s. to 5l.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY REGISTER.

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TO THE REFORMERS.

On the prospect which now presents itself with regard to the South American States.

Kensington, November 12th, 1823.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW COUNTRYMEN,

It often happens that, after men appear to have lost all chance of accomplishing an object, the chance forces itself upon them. Who would have thought, only a very few months ago, that we should, in the month of November, 1823, have found the base and bloody newspaper, called the *COURIER*; that lying, that fraudulent, that stanchest of all the vehicles of corruption; who would have thought that we should have found in that newspaper, a series of articles manifestly intended to rouse us up to spend our money in carrying on a war for the purpose of establishing in practice, and that, too, upon the most ex-

tended scale, the doctrine of the "SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PEOPLE?" Such, however, as I shall presently show you, is the fact; and, I trust, that we shall now call to mind all the deeds of the infamous sons and daughters of corruption, perpetrated against us in the years 1817 and 1819; all the insults, all the robberies, all the murders which they committed upon us, only because we claim for ourselves a very small portion of those political rights for the establishing of which in South America, this fraudulent, base and bloody newspaper is now endeavouring to work us up to spend our money in war.

You will bear in mind that, in 1817, a million and a half of Englishmen petitioned the people called the House of Commons, to give them, or, rather to restore to them, the right of choosing those who were called the representatives of the people. The answers to this petition were Acts of Parliament making new treasons, divers new causes for putting men

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to death; and, more especially, a law to authorize the Ministers to put into goal whomsoever they pleased; into which gaol they pleased; into solitary dungeons if they pleased; to forbid the prisoners the use of pen, ink and paper; and to keep them in those gaols and those dungeons as long as they pleased. In 1819 a numerous body of Englishmen met at Manchester for the purpose of taking into consideration the most effectual lawful means of bringing about such a reform in the body called the House of Commons as would give the people at large the power of choosing those who were called the people's representatives. Being assembled for this purpose; and for this purpose explicitly declared, they were attacked by horse soldiers, chopped, hacked, trampled upon; many of them were killed; hundreds of them were wounded; and those who attacked them, and who ordered the attack upon them were *thanked* for what they had done, by a letter conveyed to them by Sidmouth, the then Secretary of State. The persons who had suffered, or the relations of those who had suffered, endeavoured in vain to obtain redress for this. And, some of the persons who had taken a lead in this meeting to

petition, or rather, to take measures to obtain the exercise of the right of choosing those who were called their representatives; some of these persons were punished with almost unparalleled severity for, it would almost appear, having escaped with life from the sabres of the soldiers. But, need we go further than to look at Joseph Swann at this moment? The Magistrates of Cheshire; the Justices of the Peace from their Quarter Sessions, in the spring of the year 1820, committed him to Chester gaol for **FOUR YEARS AND A HALF**, in which gaol he now is. And what was his *crime*? He had committed three crimes: he had sold *two pamphlets*. For this they gave him two years and a half of imprisonment; and the other two years they gave him for *having been present at a meeting held to petition for Reform*. He did not speak at that meeting; and it was not alleged that he had spoken at that meeting; and yet, two years were on this account added to the other two years and a half; and he was dragged from his poor wife and four small children, and consigned to all the horrors of a gaol for four long years and a half, nearly one whole year of which has yet to expire. Talk of the Spanish Inquisition!

Talk of meetings held by the patriotic members for Westminster and the Borough of Southwark, the county of Middlesex and the great city of Eastern wisdom, which has Lord Waithman for a sovereign and Thomas Curzon Hansard for a lawgiver; talk of meetings of these patriotic persons, and talk of giving them money to buy swords and guns to prevent the re-establishment of the Spanish Inquisition! Talk of giving money for this purpose; while Joseph Swann is absolutely wasting away in Chester gaol, while his wife and four small children are little better than starving, and while there is a year of his imprisonment yet to expire! What base hypocrisy, my friends; what base hypocrisy to affect to pity the Spaniards, or even the slaves in Jamaica, while we have Joseph Swann and his family before our eyes! Several times have I given the challenge; again I repeat the challenge, to produce proof, that the Spanish Inquisition has, during the last quarter of a century, inflicted any sentence equal to that inflicted upon Joseph Swann; and this, recollect, was inflicted by the Justices of the Peace at their Quarter Sessions. I challenge all the bawlers about the tyranny of Ferdinand and the

Bourbons; I challenge them to produce an instance of a sentence a tenth part so severe as this, inflicted on a man for what has never been called, and for what was now called, nothing but a misdemeanor. Do I, then, justify the tyranny of Ferdinand and of the Bourbons? Oh, no! But I hold it to be base; I hold it to be infamous; I hold it to be a thing worthy of the detestation of mankind to affect to be anxious for the putting down of that tyranny, while I see pass almost wholly unnoticed, pass as a thing not at all improper, the terrible punishment inflicted upon Joseph Swann. I do not know what is the real situation of the people of Spain. I know that the people of France, that the labouring classes in France are well off indeed, compared to the same classes here; but, suppose I knew them to be miserable in both those countries; what has that to do with the matter? I am sorry for it; but I can do nothing for the people of Spain or of France. I am in no respect answerable for their ill treatment. I am not, indeed, answerable for the ill treatment of Joseph Swann; but if, while I see him suffering and do nothing to relieve him, I give my money to deliver, as I call it, the French or Spaniards

from slavery, I certainly am either hypocrite or fool.

But, we are now to see how this punishment of Joseph Swann applies to the case before us. His crime was selling pamphlets and, being present at a meeting, the object of which pamphlets and which meeting was, to cause a reform to take place in that body of men which are called the representatives of the people; and that reform was intended to be such as would give to the people a voice in the choosing of their representatives. Amongst all the revilers of Joseph Swann and of men like Joseph Swann, the vile wretches who own this newspaper called the Courier were the foremost. To endeavour to get such reform they represented as seditious, rebellious, treasonable. And yet, these same wretches are now laying down the doctrine, that it is right for England to go to war; that it is right for her to contract new debts, to lay on new taxes, to draw sweat and blood from the people of this country, in order to uphold the right in the people of South America; not merely of choosing their representatives in the legislative assembly; not merely that; but the right of **TURNING OFF THEIR KING**, and of choosing for

themselves a new form of government.

Before I proceed any farther, I will here insert two of the articles, to which I have alluded above. You will observe that I take them from our old inveterate and bloody-minded enemy the Courier. The wretches who conduct which have been guilty of every atrocity against the people that can be imagined. Whenever there has been a meeting to petition for the redress of any grievance, these wretches have called upon the Government to shed the blood of the people. They openly justified the bloodshed of the sixteenth of August; they have constantly justified every act of severity that has been committed; they applauded the terrible Six Acts; and, in short, there has been no one act of cruelty or of severity; no one deed hostile to our liberties; no act by which life has been taken from some of us, which these horrible miscreants have not applauded; and all this, observe, for no other reason, than because the objects of their sanguinary assaults prayed to be permitted to exercise the right of giving a voice for those who were called their representatives. Let me further observe, in the way of preface, that, in 1837, the

people of this country were anxious to assist the South Americans in obtaining their independence; that many of the officers and soldiers who had served in the late wars were anxious to enlist into the service of Mexico, Columbia and Peru and Buenos Ayres, which had then declared themselves independent. Pray bear in mind that at this time our Government, so far from being ready to acknowledge the independence of the South American States, passed what was called a FOREIGN ENLISTMENT BILL; that is to say, a law to prevent the people of this country, at their own private expense, and at the hazard of their own lives, to assist the people of South America against that very Ferdinand, which this *Courier* newspaper now holds up as such a contemptible tyrant. This Foreign Enlistment Bill was applauded to the skies by these vile wretches of the *Courier* newspaper; it was applauded as a piece of justice, of wisdom; as a thing necessary to uphold monarchical governments and all the principles of loyalty and religion: and yet, as you will now see, this very newspaper is endeavouring to prepare us for going to war, if necessary; to expend, if necessary, more hundreds of millions,

in order to establish in South America the doctrine of the inherent right of every people to cast off their sovereign, to cast off their rulers of every description, and to choose new rulers for themselves, whenever they please.

I shall now insert the articles to which I have alluded; and when I have inserted them, I shall have to offer to you some further remarks. There were two articles, which, however, I shall insert as one. I have numbered the paragraphs, from one to eleven, inclusive. The first article consisted of the first six paragraphs: the last of the last five paragraphs. The first was published on Friday, the 7th of November: the last on Monday, the 10th of November. I beg you to read the whole of the eleven paragraphs attentively through. I insert them word for word, and character for character, as I find them. You will perceive that the matter has been touched upon by the French papers, and you will be particular in bearing in mind, that the wretches who edit the *Courier* would never have dared to put these paragraphs into their paper unless they had had AUTHORITY for so doing. You will bear in mind all these things; and then, when you have read the following articles, you will want

very little from me in the way of observation. Yet, something I must say; for, you will observe, one of two things is now going to take place; that is to say, a full surrender of the States of South America to France and Spain; that is, in other words, a complete abandonment of those States, and suffering them to be taken and be recolonised by France and Spain, or, an explicit, a decided, a practical and most signal acknowledgment, on the part of our King, and of the House of Commons called the representatives of the people; this grand acknowledgment from all these parties of the great principle of the right of sovereignty; the great principle of the *Sovereignty of the People*. *Seven hundred millions do we owe*, because it pleased our Government and the Parliament to fight to extinguish this very principle. And are they now going to call upon us to spend our money and shed our blood for the purpose of establishing this principle? However, I am anticipating here: let us, before we proceed further, hear the prostituted slave of corruption the

COUNCIL.

1. The affairs of Europe may be almost said to be, at present, subordinate in importance to those of the Colonies—and the old world to be an object of less interest than

the new. This is the second time, within half a century, that America has taken so commanding a station. North America, towards the latter end of the last century—South America, at the commencement of this. The effect will be, or rather has been, the same in both cases. They have each thrown off their dependence upon the Parent States. To some it may appear to be the fulfilment of the prophetic speech of MONTEZUMA, "That the hour of retribution would come;" whilst others will see in it only the natural effect of causes—the necessary result of the development of the elements of which the colonies were composed—the growth of the seeds which were sown in them. The child, become a man, separates from his parents, establishes an independent power, and can neither be coerced nor controlled. The ties that bind him to them are those of amity and affection—there is reciprocity of kindnesses and good offices; but the link of obedience and subordination is broken for ever. This is the situation of South America. Spain cannot reduce her to subjection if she would, and a well understood policy would prevent her from attempting it if she could.

2. The question, then, of the independence of South America seems to be settled. It cannot be prevented—it has already been effected. But we read yesterday, in the French Papers, of some armaments fitting out at Cadiz, to carry succours to Lima. Succours for what? Subjugation? Ridiculous! If, however, we are, in this measure, to see the evidence of a hope to reduce the Colonies again to dependence upon the Mother Country, the necessity of more immediate decision on the part of this country becomes stronger. It should appear as, if some attempt had been made to weaken our policy, or at least to render it subservient to the policy of other Powers.

The demi-official journal of the French Government talked, the other day, of some general deliberation upon the affairs of South America—some Congress of the European Powers—in which Spain should be the first consulted. But Spain begins at once, *under foreign influence*, to evince her disposition by an armament which can have only for its object the regaining her power over the American Colonies. She does not then choose to submit her cause to arbitration. Are we then to wait for the decision of any Congress?

3. Let us not be deceived.—None of the Powers of the Continent desire the independence of South America. They may pretend that they do not desire it, because it tends to the spread and encouragement of revolutionary principles. But the real cause is, that it must lead to the enlarging the sphere of commercial intercourse, and therefore may, and must, be most beneficial to Great Britain. The *Journal des Débats* said the other day—"And how can it be supposed that England would decide at once a question of this importance when the formal admission to the rank of powers of five or six new States, containing seventeen millions of inhabitants, will be an event which will considerably change the equilibrium of the political balance of nations?" The *Courier* may add—Will seventeen millions of men, remote from your reach, and having the means of defying and resisting all your efforts to subdue them, consent to submit their fate and fortunes to your control or decision?

4. Congress or not—this at least is evident, that Great Britain cannot send a Minister to any assembly in Europe that shall pretend to settle the fate of South America. We know there is a very short and satisfactory argument that might

be used upon the subject of interfering between a Mother Country and her Colonies. But the case of South America differs very widely from that of our American Colonies; the independence of the former is *de facto* accomplished—all efforts have been tried against it and failed.

Treason has done his worst: nor steel
nor poison,
Malice domestic, foreign levy, nothing
Can touch it further.

5. All Europe knows that we neither incited the Americans to throw off their submission, nor fanned the flame of independence—nor gave it encouragement, either direct or indirect. We did not promote it—we could not prevent it. What then should be our policy? Are we to wait till Spain and her Allies have proved the fallacy of all attempts to reduce the Colonies to their former obedience? Are we to wait till they have pointed out the path we ought to pursue; or, are we to act from ourselves alone?—No doubt, whatever policy we adopt will be censured—our motives calumniated—our objects misrepresented. A sufficient proof of this we have seen in the present contest between France and Spain: we have not given satisfaction to either party. All hesitating policy, all half-measures, are beneath the dignity of this great nation. A shifting, truckling, trimming policy may suit States of the second order, but is utterly unworthy such a country as Great Britain. No man can applaud more than we do the sending Consuls and Commissioners to the South American States: it is the first step—a step for which we see the Continental Powers were not prepared. They wished to make us subservient to the delays, the turns, and windings of Congress deliberations. We have not waited to take upon us their trammels. But they wish to have it supposed that we have not

in form recognised the independence of South America. But have we not in fact?

6. It is a manly policy which our Government has adopted. It is the first step; but it must be followed by other steps; and we trust it will be followed by the appointment of some higher diplomatic character—of some Envoy or Minister to the Colonies. This will put our intentions beyond all doubt. It is the only policy worthy of us.

7. It seems strange that any persons should view our sentiments upon the South American States as breathing either war or defiance. It is a policy upon which, we contend, other European Powers have no right to interfere with us—nor do we pretend to interfere with them. They may, or may not, acknowledge and treat with those States; that is their business. But they cannot justly complain of our exercising the same privilege. And here, in order to clear away in *limine* the ground of some objections that have been urged, we must desire the public to bear this in mind—that it is not the case of an incipient insurrection of the Colonies against the Parent State—that it is not a struggle in which the power of one side is balanced by the power of the other, and the issue doubtful—it is not a case in which a third party, stepping in, turns the scale, and decides the conflict in favour of the side to which it carries its weight. It bears no resemblance to the case of our American colonies, when France and Spain interfered; the conflict is decided—the issue is arrived—and Spain is not more divided by the seas from her ancient possessions, than she is by the difference of their respective institutions; nor has she more sovereignty over them than we had over France, though we continued to bear the empty title of her King. The question has been well put by

one of our cotemporaries—"As to independence, the question is at rest—the States are free—the acknowledgment by Spain is not worth a straw to England—all colonies are *de jure* Sovereign States, the moment in which they achieve their independence, *de facto*. This, for the clearest of all reasons, because the foundation of their allegiance, is their enjoyment of protection from the Parent State. When the colonists cease to want protection, they are no longer bound to pay the price of it; and this is one of a class of cases in which power becomes the evidence of right."

8. This is what we wished to lay down in *limine*. The South American States are, to all intents and purposes, free and independent States, with which any other State may treat and negotiate, and form alliances, without any violation of treaty or good faith towards any other Power.

9. But it is said, Spain has not acknowledged their independence, and therefore you are guilty of an attack upon her sovereignty. Indeed! Let us see the absurdity to which this position would lead. The South American States might have established, as they have, their independence—might have exercised all the acts of a sovereign and independent power—might have entered into commercial and political relations with other nations—Spain would not be able to take any step, to do any act, calculated to resume her former authority over the States, or to arrest for a moment the march and exercise of their independence—nay, might remain totally inactive and supine; yet, because she refused to acknowledge them as free States, we are to refuse all intercourse, all political relations with them whatever! Why, does not every one see the utter absurdity and childishness of such

reasoning, if reasoning it can be called!

10. But we are told of a Congress of European Powers to settle the fate of the American Colonies. We should like to see what sort of a preamble such a Congress would draw up to their deliberations.—“Whereas, a certain tract of country, some thousands of miles distant from Europe, containing about 470,000 square leagues, and a population of seventeen millions, has determined that it will be governed by its own institutions, and will no longer continue in dependence, (which they do not want, and which is injurious to their best interests) upon a nation containing twenty-five thousand square leagues, and ten millions of inhabitants; We, the Powers of Europe, are assembled in Congress to devise the best means of putting an end to so unsatisfactory a situation of affairs, and of concluding some arrangement that shall be more congenial to the policy, &c. &c.”!! Congress may deliberate and re-deliberate, pass protocol upon protocol, multiply conference upon conference, but what would the seventeen millions on the other side of the Atlantic say? Or what means would the Congress possess of enforcing their edicts! To frame resolutions which you have no means of executing, or, to use an old proverb, “to show your teeth when you cannot bite,” is, in private concerns, not a very wise proceeding; but, in public matters, in the intercourse between nations, not only idle but positively dangerous. We think the Continental Powers will pause before they hold any such Congress; but whether they do or not, we shall neither be a party to it, nor send a Minister to it. We shall leave the Continental Powers to act as they like, whilst we shall act as we think best for our own interests. The

American States have achieved their emancipation—achieved it by their own efforts—without foreign aid, foreign councils, or foreign encouragement. We, who, of all nations, could have rendered them the most powerful assistance, did not, through our Government, express even a wish in their favour. They fought the fight, they gained the victory without us. Their independence is established—the tide cannot be rolled back. The American States are free sovereign States with which any nation is at liberty to treat, without affording any just grounds of offence or complaint to any other Power.

11. We have sent Consuls and Commissioners—other Powers may, and probably will, do the same. We call this step a *de facto* acknowledgment of the Sovereignty of the American States—and we may expect further, that a higher diplomatic character will either be sent out, or that some one of the Commissioners has, or will have, the power of taking upon himself that character, as soon as the different Consuls have made their reports upon the situation and feelings of the States to which they have been respectively sent.

Supposing you now to have read, with suitable attention, these articles from this villanous newspaper, what is the first thing that presents itself for remark? Why, certainly, the impossibility that the crawling reptiles who own this paper and who conduct it should have inserted passages like these unless they had been well assured that the insertion of them would be pleasing to corruption. In short, that man must know

nothing of these publications who does not know, that these articles are not only not published without the previous approbation of persons that we need not name; but that they were not written, that no part of them were written by the wretches who own or who conduct the *Courier*. Every man knowing any thing at all about the London press, must know that the articles were written by others and sent for insertion to the wretches who own this paper, and who, if justice be not banished from the face of this earth, will, in due time, have their reward.

The next thing to remark on is, the strenuous endeavours manifest in these articles to prove that the States of South America **ARE** independent; that the question is *settled*; that the independence has already been effected; and that, to attempt to recolonise these countries is to make war upon free and independent States. Great pains is taken to establish this point, as may be seen by a reference to paragraphs 2, 7, 8 and 9. As to the fact, how stands it? In every one of the States, in that of Mexico, that of New Grenada and Venezuela, now called Columbia; that of Peru, that of Chili, that of Buenos Ayres; in

every one of them is there a *struggle now going on*; and, certainly, Spain has acknowledged the independence of neither of them. If the making of loans, indeed; if the borrowing of money of the Jews and Jobbers in London; if that were enough to make a state independent, some of them are independent: but, to talk of the thing having been decided in another way, is to give the lie to the well-known facts. Is it not notorious, that in Mexico there was a counter-revolution, as it was called, only about *fifteen months ago*. A man named ITURBIDE had been proclaimed *Emperor* of Mexico. He talked of his royal family: in his proclamation he talked of his royal family in as bold and fine a strain as any of the Guelphs ever did. But, all of a sudden, his emperorship was toppled down, and deemed himself to be extremely in luck to escape with his head upon his shoulders. Is Mexico settled, then? Will even the impudent, base and bloody *Courier* pretend to say that Mexico is independent? It is only about fifteen months since ITURBIDE was tumbled from his imperial throne. The pretty gentlemen at Whitehall have voted into their hands by the Lord Johns and the rest of

them every year about fifty thousand pounds for secret services. They cover the face of the land and of the seas with their ambassadors, commissioners, envoys and consuls. They have an enormously expensive envoy in the United States of America. They have an ambassador there or envoy or whatever they call him, who, together with his officers and slabs, cost us more, every year, than the President of the United States and all his ministers of state cost that country: our pretty gentlemen have all these means of getting at information. And yet, I would bet my head against Mr. Canning's inkstand, that they will not, even after the Parliament shall meet, be able to say *what sort of government that is which is existing in Mexico!*

Well, then, is the affair settled so completely? Is there *no question* about it? Ah, but the prostituted wretch who writes in the Courier; the prostituted knave who sends it these articles will say, "Ah! as to *Mexico*, indeed: "as to that particular province, "there may be some little doubt. "Things may not be completely "settled *there*, perhaps." And thus, my friends, it is to be fool as well as knave; for, what is this

same Mexico! What part of South America does it form? "Only a little bit of it," the Courier will say: "indeed, hardly "any of it; for the far greater part "of Mexico is, in fact, in North "America." Aye, beast, that is true enough. But you say there are *seventeen millions of people* in the whole belonging to these States that are in question; and then, my friends, we have little more to do than to remark, that it is perfectly notorious that eleven millions are contained in Mexico alone! So that, it appears completely undeniable that of the people of these Spanish colonies, two-third parts, or very nearly two-third parts, at any rate, are in a state of actual revolt; in a state so far from being settled, that nothing is settled belonging to the country; and that no man can say, at this moment, that there is in that colony any thing in existence worthy of the name of Government.

Indeed, our pretty gentlemen themselves appear, from their own acts, to be convinced that there is nothing worthy of the name of government in any one of the colonies. It is entirely their fault that there is not. Had it not been for them, there would have been settled, solid, and good governments

in these colonies long ago. Had not they seconded the underhand works of the United States of North America; had not they passed their Foreign Enlistment Bill, and had not they done every thing in their power to annoy and distract the South American Colonies; had they not done this, those colonies would have been really independent long ago. But, no matter; that they *are not* independent; that the thing is not settled, that there is much question about the matter, what proof do we want other than that furnished by the pretty gentlemen themselves; they have sent out COMMISSIONERS; and what are these Commissioners to do. They are not *envoys*, mind. They are not sent to *any body*. They are sent to find out whether there be somebody to be sent to. Precisely what was done by the Government of the United States in the early part of 1800 has been done by our precious pretty fellows NOW! In 1800 the United States sent out Commissioners. Since that, they have in one case or two sent envoys; but, because they chose to do this, does it follow that the States *are* independent? They sent an envoy, I believe, to ITURBIDE; but when his imperial majesty got tumbled down, the cre-

dentials of the envoy were changed: that was all.

The sending of *Commissioners* in place of envoys or ministers of any sort, is a clear proof that our pretty gentlemen themselves did not, only three weeks ago, look upon the States as independent. What has made them independent during the last three weeks? What proofs of their independence has been received during that period? None; and, all that has happened to produce the present measures is the completion of the conquest of Old Spain by France, a completion that might have been foreseen long and long enough ago. It is impossible to misunderstand this. It is impossible not to see that our pretty fellows abhorred the thought of South American Independence. That they were resolved to prevent it if possible; but, when they saw France in complete possession of Spain; when they saw the mighty port of Cadiz fall into their hands, then they who had passed a Foreign Enlistment Bill to prevent the South Americans from becoming free, and who had *kept that bill in force*, observe, apparently for the express purpose of preventing the English from assisting the Spaniards of Old Spain against the French; these very men;

these identical pretty fellows down at Whitehall, when they saw France in possession of Cadiz, in possession of the fleets and arsenals of Spain, then they bethought them of sending Commissioners out to South America, *to inquire whether there were any governments there that they might send envoys to!* But, finding that the French were losing no time; finding that ships were already fitting out to be sent to recolonise South America, they began to regret that they had not acted at a more early period; they began to see that Mexico and the whole of South America must be consigned to France, or that war must be declared by this country; they were, in fact, at wit's end; and, half frightened out of their senses, and having still more hopes of the effects of bullying, they resorted to the expedients which we have seen. But, they well know that the question of independence is decided in no one of the American States. They well know that there is nothing worthy of the name of government in Mexico, which contains two-thirds of the whole of the population of the States in question. They well know that in New Granada and Venezuela, containing a half of the remainder of the population

of South America, there is no government that has the power to collect a tax or raise a soldier. We all know as well as they that the capital of Peru is in the hands of the troops of Ferdinand. Every one knows that three regiments of men would bring back Chili and place it under the royal authority. So that, if we are to allow the territory of Buenos Ayres to be in a state worthy of being called independent, there are from a million and a half to two millions of persons out of the seventeen millions in this independent State; and this independence, observe, is a *grant* from the Cortes of Spain; a grant by convention, the country being still tributary to Old Spain.

It is not denied by any body, except by the tools of corruption. It never has been denied by any body but them, that the South American States ought to be independent, and that the interests and honour of England loudly called for the acknowledgment of that independence; but, I contend, and so will every man of sense and justice contend, that the *interest and honour of England have demanded this ever since the year 1817*. The knave who writes in the Courier; the tool of corruption that is now putting forth these paragraphs, after noticing what the

French journals say about a Congress to settle the affairs of the American colonies: after expressing his contempt for what a Congress may say or do in such a case; after this, the tool of corruption proceeds thus, in paragraph No. 3. "Let us not be deceived: none of the Powers of the Continent desire the independence of South America. They may pretend that their reason for not desiring it is, that it tends to the spread and encouragement of revolutionary principles. But the real cause is that it must lead to the enlarging of the sphere of commercial intercourse; and therefore may and must be most beneficial to Great Britain!"

"Now, then, tool of corruption, the devil, if he never deserted you before, has certainly deserted you now. Seven hundred millions of debt, besides the current expenses of the war raised in taxes, has it cost us, to carry on a war to deliver the powers of the continent; to make them free; to deliver Europe; and after all this; and after our attending at all the Congresses of the Holy Allies, here is the villainous, base, bloody Courier newspaper, who has been crying up those allies for the last seven-and-twenty years, here is

this monstrous villain of the House, telling the people of England that those powers are all hypocrites; that they pretend at what they do not believe; and, the base and profligate and prostituted tool of corruption, has the baseness to tell us besides, that these very powers object to the independence of South America, because and only because, that independence must be beneficial to Great Britain!"

But, if the powers of the continent be these hypocritical and envious enemies, what shall we say for the pretty gentlemen who have had our affairs in their hands for so long a period? Did not they, until now, say a very thing of the disposition of these continental powers? Perhaps not. At any rate, it is possible that they did not, though that possibility supposes them to be wretches almost too stupid to be suffered to live. But they knew the interests of England, did they not? Could a thing be so manifestly beneficial to her and to her more than to any other power, and gentlemen so pretty as they are not perceive it? What, the astutish Wellestons, the profound Scots and Jenkinsens, the keen-eyed Cammings and Hunkinsons, the awfully deep Fates and Rydens and Melvilles, surely,

when there was a thing which must be most beneficial to Great Britain, and of this delightful squad, especially when assisted as they were for so many years by the profound Castlereagh and the profound Fox, surely the surprising Wellesley and Grenvilles and altogether, must, if the thing really were so, have perceived that South American Independence was most beneficial to Great Britain. Why, then, did they pass the Foreign Enlistment Bill in 1817? "Oh! they did not wish to interfere." And, in paragraph No. 6, it is here said, "All Europe knows we neither greeted the Americans to throw off their submission, nor fanned the flame of independence; nor gave it encouragement either direct or indirect. We did not promote it: we could not prevent it." Well, then, but why did not you promote it; why did you try to prevent it; why did you do this, if the thing itself must be most beneficial to Great Britain? Why did not you promote it; or, rather, why did you endeavour to prevent it, in the year 1817, when, in fact, the States were more independent than they are now; when you could have done it, without the smallest risk of war; without one shilling's worth of expense; by the means

of a bare word; for you had your troops then in France; you had all the powers of the continent at your nod; and Old Spain was in so feeble and wretched a state, as to be compelled to surrender the *Florida* to the American States! You stood by and saw this, too, which you ought to have opposed with all your might, and which, in fact, you ought to have prevented. All this existed, while you had your troops in France; when you could have had the independence of South America, without sending a single soldier or single sailor to that country; but you passed a Foreign Enlistment Bill; you kept South America in a state of obstruction, till France had had time to recover herself to take possession of Spain, to be sitting out a fleet at Cadiz; and when all this had taken place, you then begin to prepare for the acknowledging of the South American States!

But, how are the pretty gentlemen to answer for their conduct only of this present year, if what this reptile here says be true? If the independence of South America must be most beneficial to Great Britain, as is here asserted by their reptile, how are they to answer for their conduct of this present year? I know that they

cannot have war without blowing up the Debt and letting us have our rights. But, this aside, for a moment, it is pretty clear, that to prevent France and Spain from recolonising the American States, we must have war. Few people will doubt of this being the case: war or a recolonising of South America. At any rate, the reptile, whose eleven paragraphs we have just been reading, tells us that the Government will go to war, rather than suffer this recolonization. Now mark, there is no denying this: this infamous paper, the *Courier*, says that the Government will go to war, rather than suffer the recolonization of South America. If, then, this were the case, ought not the pretty gentlemen to be brought to a severe account? Is it not an undisputed fact, that this colonization would never have been undertaken or thought of, had not the French got possession of Cadiz and the other ports of Spain? Is not this an undisputed fact? Why, then, did our Government not prevent the French from getting possession of Cadiz and the other ports of Spain? Either they did not foresee that the taking of Cadiz would lead to the recolonization, or they did foresee it. If they did foresee it, were they much better

than traitors? If they did not foresee, where are we to find words sufficient to describe their ignorance? If war be to be resorted to, to prevent the recolonization of South America, why was not war undertaken to prevent the French from getting possession of Spain? Pretty gentlemen, all the world knows we have; but, who the devil ever thought them pretty enough to imagine that it was either easier or cheaper to keep the French and Spaniards shut out of South America; to war with these two united nations at the distance of four or five thousand miles off, and that, too, under every circumstance of disadvantage to us and of advantage to them; in short, who the devil ever imagined that we had gentlemen pretty enough to believe that it was cheaper for a three-parts-broken nation to keep United France and Spain out of Spain's own provinces in America: that it was cheaper to do this, than to stop the French army in the passes of the Pyrenees, we having ready to assist us, every man in arms in Spain?

However, pretty as the gentlemen at Whitehall are, of just the same pretty stuff are the gentlemen opposite made. As the people at Maidstone told them, when the two parties met to join in an

Address about Cobourg's marriage, they are *all tarred with the same brush*; and, therefore, though there will be matter sufficient to overthrow any ministry in the world; if it were made a proper use of, this matter will not give the pretty gentlemen at Whitehall even a little shake; that is to say, it will not enable the gentlemen opposite to give them any shake. It will shake them; because it will shake the whole of the **THING**; and here, in conclusion, let me congratulate you, as I have long congratulated myself, on the possession of Spain by the French. If the French had been driven back by the Spaniards; if there had been long delay in the war; if it had been a sort of drawn battle; if it had been what the Hobhouses and Wilsons and Burdetts and the other humbugs were wishing for: for, mind, they never wished for a driving back of the French and for another blowing up of the Bourbons; be not mad enough to think that Lord Nugent wished for a real radical revolution; be not sots enough to believe that. He and the Hobhouses, the placemen Hobhouses and the pensioned Erskines, wished for nothing that would have done us any good.

They wished to humbug those that they could humbug, and for nothing more. If, therefore, a mere prolongation of the war between the French and Spaniards; if a doubtful issue; if any thing like this had taken place, South America would have gone on, without being acknowledged, or without being proposed to be acknowledged by our pretty fellows; and these pretty fellows would not have been driven to the wall as they now are. They are now tied to the stake: they must fight for the great principle, the sovereignty of the people, or they must give up what the base Courier now calls a thing most beneficial to Great Britain.

There would be much more to say upon this subject if I had room. At present I have not. The French, I must observe, however, know well the state of distress in which the pretty gentlemen are placed. The French know that they must blow up the Debt if they go to war. The French remember the empty bullyings of last February. The French, I dare say, know them as well as I do; and if they do, my God how they will laugh at these bullying articles in the Courier. These are, in fact, the last poor attempts of conscious feebleness.

The reptile who writes these paragraphs may not be certain, that the Government cannot go to war, and by no means intends it. But those who employ the reptile, know these things well. However, we the Reformers need care very little about the matter, seeing that one of two things must take place: our Government must suffer France to possess herself of as large a portion as she pleases of South America, and Mexico will most likely be her share; or, this same Government of ours must call upon us to give it money that it may employ Englishmen to go and shed their blood in support of the principle of the *Sovereignty of the People*, for the abating of which principle it called upon us to contract a Debt of seven hundred millions of money, and to slaughter or cause to be slaughtered, two or three millions of men of various nations of the world. Will it call upon us to expend fresh millions to uphold the principles which it before made us spend hundreds of millions to put down; will it call upon us to expend millions to maintain the principle of the *Sovereignty of the People*; will it call upon us to do this while Joseph Swann is yet in gaol; and while a large part of the

people of Ireland are subject to transportation, if they quit their miserable houses from sunset to sunrise?

One word more, my friends, and I conclude for the present. There are those who imagine that the United States of America would take part with us in a war for preventing the recolonization of South America. Such a thought is worthy of the pretty gentlemen of Whitehall. The United States will take no part with us. If we go to war with France or Spain, the United States will carry on their commerce; they will not suffer us to search their ships for enemy's goods; and if we insist upon doing this, they will take part in the war *against us*.

Is not the situation, then, of the Boroughmongers and their tools worse than it would have been if the French had not taken possession of Spain? Have not the war in Spain and the result of it given a blow to Gaton and Old Sarum? Or, will the hero of the two red lions and of the king of Bohemia actually call upon us to spend our money and shed our blood to secure the *Sovereignty of the People* in South America, while he calls upon the great House, when we pray it to put an

ed to ~~sent~~-selling, to "make a
 "stand against democratical en-
 "croachment?"

I am, Gentlemen,

Your Friend and

Most obedient Servant,

W^R. COBBETT.

JOURNAL

OF A

BIDE IN FRANCE.

It was stated in the last Register, that it was found impossible to publish in the Register even a quarter part of the Journal, received from Mr. James Cobbett. It was observed, that there were some thoughts of publishing the Journal in Numbers, and to begin doing it even before the return of the Author. This intention, or, rather, partly-formed intention, has been given up; and the Author will do as he pleases upon his return, which will be in about a month from this time. The last letter received from him left him at CHATEAUBROUX, which is precisely in the centre of France.

It was his intention to make a turn there and to go towards the west, and then to return across Brittany, the two Normandies,

Picardy and Artois. It is believed that most persons will find almost every part of his Journal to contain something of interest. The following extract of a letter, dated from COSNE, and dated on the 29th October, will, it is confidently believed, be found to be peculiarly interesting. It is well worthy of the attention of all those in this country, who have any thing to do with the making or with the executing of the laws; and it may serve as an answer to all those brutal Pittites, who ask us, "*what the French have gained by their revolution.*"

"Amongst many circumstances to induce me to stay longer at the CHATEAU DE BEAUVOIR, was the offer of a dog and gun, which I should have gladly accepted of, if I had not, by the lateness of the season, been hurried to get on. This is a fine sporting country. There is plenty of game; and so there appears to be generally in France; for I have seen partridges and hares, and people in pursuit of them, in almost every neighbourhood that I have passed through. They have, here, the English hare, partridge, quail, woodcock, snipe, and rabbit; and, in some places, the pheasant. In addition to

"these about in a bird, which
 "they call the *ach-legged par-*
 "tridge, a very beautiful bird,
 "rather larger than our partridge,
 "and in great abundance. I went
 "a coursing two or three times at
 "Briare, and it appeared to
 "me that the French hares were
 "quite a match for the English
 "greyhounds that ran after them,
 "— The 'GAME LAWS' in
 "France are exceedingly simple
 "in their provisions. The law
 "that affects sportsmen, is more
 "properly a Military Law, than
 "a Game Law. You may chase,
 "and kill, any game that you
 "please, without the laws having
 "any thing to do with you. But,
 "if you wish to carry a gun, you
 "must have a certificate to autho-
 "rize you to do so. My own is
 "qualified to buy this certificate;
 "and the cost of the certificate is
 "fifty francs, which is about
 "twelve shillings and sixpence
 "sterling. The certificate is called
 "a *Porte-arms*; that is to say,
 "a permission to carry fire-arms.
 "Having this, you may kill what-
 "ever game you please; but it
 "does not give you a right to go
 "upon the land of another person
 "without having his leave to do
 "so, and you are liable, if you
 "have not such leave, to an
 "action for trespass. The soldiers

"of the King have a right to shoot
 "game, without paying anything.
 "Game may be bought and sold
 "by any body, and is, at all times
 "of the year. So it would ap-
 "pear, that the 'Game Laws' of
 "France have more an eye to the
 "guns of sportsmen, than they
 "have to the preservation of these
 "animals that sportsmen love to
 "destroy. — The labourers catch
 "the game in *springes*, without
 "being sent to *gaol* or *Bagne*.
 "But, for so doing, there is,
 "however, little to induce them
 "to 'poaching,' as we call it in
 "England. A French labourer
 "would be a fool if he could find
 "any delight in prowling about
 "in a coppice, at a time when he
 "might be sleeping at home in
 "such a house as is the habit-
 "ation of a labourer at Bagneux.
 "There are cottages, separate
 "from the farm-houses, all over
 "the estate of Bagneux. A
 "labourer, employed by the *seigneur*,
 "has one of these cottages for his
 "family to live in, with from
 "twelve to fifteen acres of land,
 "fine wood, and two cows allowed
 "him; a little piece of vineyard,
 "and apples and pears, to make
 "wine, cider, and perry, for his
 "drink. For this little estate he
 "pays 150 francs (24 5s) a year.
 "And he earns in his labour

from 15 to 30 sous a day (7 p. 10 p. 15 p.), according to the season, for the year, which would be leaving him, upon an average, after he has paid the 180 francs, more than as much as that sum, in clear money. The labourers who live under these circumstances cannot, generally speaking, be otherwise than happy. They have every thing that they can want; every thing, in fact, that a labourer ought to have. If they like to have beer to drink, they have land on which to grow the materials to make it; and they may grow the hops and make the malt, without fearing the interference of an Excise-man. They have not a farthing of taxes to pay, nor money in any other shape, excepting that which they pay to their landlord, and who gives them a sufficient price for their labour to enable them to preserve comfort and happiness for themselves; and to pay him a rent for the advantages which he gives them. There is no need of *porcelaine* here; and, consequently, there are no such things in France. The labourer can sit at home in the evening, because in his cottage there is enough of plenty to give

content; and, for the same reason, he can go to bed, without being afraid of awaking in misery. The state of the French labourer forms, in short, a perfect contrast with that of the poor, ragged creature of the same class in England, who, after a hard day's work, stinks into the *pot-houses* to seek, in its scenes of filthiness and degradation, a refuge from the cheerlessness of his own abode. The dress of the labourer in France, is good; as far as I have seen. They wear a smock-frock and trousers, of a blue color, like the dress of most of the labourers in Saxony. The garments of the Saxons, however, are very frequently in a state of rags, which is seldom the case with those of the French. This dress is made, not, as I before said, of cotton, but of stone *laine*. When at work, the men very frequently wear some sort of cap upon their heads. In this part of the country, I see, they wear a *bonnet*, which has a very wide brim to it, a brim about eight or ten inches wide, that serves as a shelter to the shoulders as well as a covering to the head. Sometimes this large brim is turned up, in such a way as to

"forms complete cooked-hat, like that which is worn by the officers of scores in our army."

Has France gained nothing, then, by her revolution? *Thousands of persons used to be sent to the galleys every year on account of the game.* Has she gained nothing, then, by her revolution? Our parsons say that she has not. Would they like to let the people of England gain as much as the French have gained? In this account of the game laws of France, we have, in fact, an account of the happiness of a country, without tithes, without a domineering priesthood, and without cruel and bloody laws to preserve all the wild animals, for the exclusive use of a haughty aristocracy. What a contrast does the state of the French countryman form with that of our poor creatures! However, let us hope that Frenchmen are not always to see us in this degraded state. What are we to think of the base London press, when we look at this state of the French labourer; when we read this account of the game and of the game laws in France, and when we remember Gaffer Gogch's saying, that there were **ONLY FORTY POACHERS** at one time in one English gaol; when we reflect, that one

third part of all the prisoners in any one gaol in England at any given time, are in for killing or attempting to kill hares, pheasants, or partridges. When we think of these things; when we think of the hanging of the two poor fellows at Winchester, Smith and Turner, on account of having resisted and wounded in one case, and killed in the other case, Lord Palmerston's and Ashurst Smith's game-keepers, by whom they had been seized; when we think of these things; when we think of all the miseries, and all the horrors, proceeding from this terrible Game Code, and when we think at the same time of the happy and secure state of the people of France, how are we to find words to express our indignation of those wretches of the London press, who would make us believe that we are free men, while the people of France are slaves; and that we ought to patiently submit to our yoke, while the people of France ought to rise in rebellion against theirs?

These wretches of the London press may curse till they are hoarse. These hirelings of the Jews and Jobbers may swear as long as they please, that the parishioners of *Parson Manbert*, who sent forth armed men

to collect his tithes at Skilberden, and whose agents bought in five of the sicked sheep for five shillings; these wretches, hired by the Jews and Jobbers of London, may swear as long as they please that Frenchmen ought to rebel because they are not crammed into prison for looking at a hare; but Frenchmen will not rebel; they will leave us to the enjoyment of the blessings that Boroughmongers give us, and if we like Parson MORRITT and his brethren, they will leave us to the blessings bestowed by Parson MORRITT and his brethren: they will enjoy quietly the fruit of their revolution, the fruit of their valour and perseverance; and leave us *loyal* souls to enjoy the *tread-mill*, that famous specimen of the "envy of surrounding nations and admiration of the world."

This wretched crew of humbuggers ought not to be suffered to proceed with their frauds. As to what they may do *here*, that cannot be wholly prevented. But, as I have completely exposed them throughout North America, I am resolved to expose this whole fraud all this fraudulent THING, to the people of France. These ~~cheats~~ shall not cheat the world as they have done. Just one sheet of paper, containing a sum-

mary of a small part of what the *Boroughmongers* do to us, and entitled, *Proofs of English Freedom*, translated into French; and well circulated in France, would do a great deal of good. I will think about the means of doing this; for, I make no compromise with the *Borough-villains*. We owe all our sufferings to them. It is they who have spawned the Jews and Jobbers: it is they who have put the old sacks over the shoulders of the labourer and have wrapped hay-bands round his legs.

TURNPIKE TOLLS.

To the Editor of the *Hampshire Chronicle*.

Kensington, 12 November, 1823.

SIR,

I PERCEIVE, from one of your recent papers, that this matter, relating to the tolls on *one-horse carts*, is not yet clearly understood, in your part of the country at least. That article in your paper, to which I allude, says something about *market carts*, and other carts for *light goods* or *passengers*. Sir, ALL *one-horse carts* are to be exempted from the additional toll. Let me "lay down the law" once more, and plainly, if I can.

In 1822, an Act was passed, laying an additional toll on *one-horse carts*, with *four* wheels. This additional toll was *one-half* of the toll

toll: so that a toll that was 3d. became 4d. This Act went into force in *January last*; and the tolls were then raised accordingly. But, mind, *tar carts, market carts, and carts for light goods and passengers, were EXCEPTED.* These were not to be charged any additional toll; and they were *not*; but the additional toll was laid on all *other carts*; and the toll-collectors, so interpreted the law, as to find but very few exemptions; for they made the poor *ass-carts* men pay the additional toll.

On the 19th of July, 1823, another Act was passed, and this new Act, in order to do away this exaction of the toll-collectors, and to leave no room for dispute, made (in clause 19) the EXEMPTION to extend, *immediately*, to ALL one-horse carts. So that, *from that day*, all additional toll on one-horse carts ceased. And whoever has taken an additional toll on ANY one-horse cart, since 19th July last, is liable to a penalty of *five pounds*.

This, Sir, is the law; and this law has been violated in *all parts* of the country, and, in many parts, is violated still. It has been pretended, that the toll-collectors *did not know of the existence of the act of 1823.* Surely! They knew, *in a moment*, of the existence of the act of 1823! Knew of the act *raising tolls*; but not of the act *lowering tolls*! And pray, Sir, how many scores of poor carters and of farmers almost as poor

have had to pay a penalty for *not knowing* (and really not knowing), that their names must be put on the *side*, instead of the *front*, of their carts and wagons! And, pray mark the wide difference in the cases: as to the *name*, it did *nobody any harm*: the changing of its place was a mere whim of some whimsical man. But, as to the *toll*, it was *taking money away from people unlawfully*, and, indeed, almost by *violence*. It was *extortion*, and almost *robbery*; and that, too, of a most industrious and meritorious class of men.

The time limited for making complaints is *three months*; so that, if you have been made to pay the additional toll on a one-horse cart, within *three months*, you may go to a magistrate, *name the man* you paid it to, and the *time*, or *about the time*, and get a *summons* for the man. The justice may *mitigate* the penalty; but no justice will venture to reduce it *very low*, seeing that the toll-collectors have been unjustly *pocketing* money.

I am, Sir,
Your most humble and
Most obedient Servant,
W. COBBETT

P. S. The above Letter ought to be inserted in every country paper in the kingdom; and, indeed, in every paper. If, in any part of the country, the extortion be still going on; and, if any man with a *name*, and whom *I know*, will write to me, *post paid*, at 183, Fleet-street, *I will take measures for punishing the offenders.* I hear that the extortion is still going on in some parts of Kent. In justice to my neighbours I insert the following, which I take from

the London DAILY papers of the 11th instant.

TURNPIKE EXACTIONS.—At a Meeting of several Owners of one-horse carts, of the Kensington, Chelsea, Fulham, and Hammersmith District, held at the Grapes Tavern, Kensington, on Thursday, the 6th day of November,

MR. COTTERELL in the Chair;

it was Resolved, That a Subscription be entered into for the purchase of a Piece of Plate, to be presented to Mr. Cobbett, for his disinterested exertions in exposing, defeating, and putting a stop to the renters of Tolls in this and other districts, from exacting a higher Toll than the Law directs to be paid.

“Subscriptions will be received by the Chairman, High-street, and Mr. Haines, Grapes Tavern, Kensington; Mr. W. Pater, Mr. Wm. Simmonds, Swan, and Mr. James Saunders, Hammersmith; Mrs. South, Compasses, Fulham; Mr. Edwards, Somerset Arms, Little Chelsea; Dickson and Anderson, Covent Garden; and Mr. Wamsley, Beaumont Arms, Shepherd's Bush, till MONDAY, the 24th instant, when a Meeting of the Subscribers will be held at Seven o'clock in the Evening, at the Grapes Tavern, Kensington, to ascertain the amount of Subscriptions, and to determine on the Piece of Plate to be purchased.”

The Jews had to pay thirty-six pounds in *penalties*. I made seven complaints; James Palmer two, Thomas Cox two, William Grove two, John Wilson one, William Cox one, William Calcott one, John Kill one, Thomas King one. I advised these men to complain. They went with me. I employed the Solicitor, and he advanced money for all the expenses. When the decision had

taken place I retained, by consent of the parties, four shillings on each conviction for the Solicitor, who had had a great deal of trouble, and the men, above-named, were paid by me, sixteen shillings on each conviction. The seven pounds, which came to me, I shall give to the *wife and children* of poor JOSEPH SWANN; or, part to them and part to him. The winter, now coming, is the FIFTH winter that this poor man has passed in the *gaol*, to which he was sent by the *Magistrates of Cheshire!* For they had him in *gaol about three months before they sentenced him to be in gaol for four years and a half longer!* A wife and four small children were left to be paupers or to starve. Good God! And this is *humane* England, is it! I have once before assisted this poor woman a little. And, as I give these *seven pounds*, may I not hope that there will be *somebody* found to make the *seven twice seven?* I shall go, or get *some one to go*, to see SWANN and his family, on, or before, the *last day of this month*. This man and his family *must* be taken care of, or, the very name of *Englishman* ought to be held in detestation. I shall, in the Register, give an account of any sums that I may receive on this account. *Much* is not wanted; but, about *seven pounds* will be wanted for the winter that is just at hand. In the meanwhile, Mrs. SWANN will oblige me by writing to me (at No. 183, Fleet Street, *postage paid*), to let me know *precisely where she is to be found*, that I, or the gentleman that goes, may not lose my or his time. I, or some one, will be with her, *on the 29th or*

30th of this month.—I will, towards the seven pounds which I wish to get, receive any sum, even so low as a shilling. A little book will be kept at No. 133, Fleet Street, for the purpose of entering names and sums. When I get the seven pounds, I shall stop. That will suffice for this winter; and that, I trust, I shall soon have. At any rate, I know what is my duty, and I will do it. My Solicitor, understanding what use I meant to apply the seven penalties to, declined receiving any thing on account of them; so that, in fact, he has been good enough to subscribe 1*l.* 8*s.* on this occasion.

MECHANIC'S INSTITUTION.

THE Report of the proceedings at the Crown and Anchor, public house, in the Strand, on Tuesday the 11th inst. has been published in all the newspapers. The following is what the report in the Morning Chronicle has contained, with regard to the little part that I took in the business.

“MR. COBBETT having been called for, came forward amidst loud applause. Order having been restored, he observed that it was not originally his intention to trouble them with a single word. He concurred with those who thought it the duty of every man to contribute as much as in his power to the support of the Institution; with that view he had given his five pounds to the Chairman, requesting him to inform the meeting that he was not actuated by any wish to become a founder or member of the Institution, and he would, in a few words, tell them his reason

for not wishing to be either the one or the other. He had all his life made it his boast and glory that he belonged to the working part of the people. [Cheers.] He never affected to be what he was not—he never turned his back upon that class out of which he came. [Applause.] He was of opinion that one Resolution at least of the Society at New York was a wise one—namely, that none but mechanics should be allowed to become members of it. It became those who were not mechanics to subscribe according to their ability, but they had nothing, and ought to have nothing, to do with the management of the Institution. [Applause.] And here he agreed with Mr. Brougham, who stated he thought the thing should be managed by the mechanics themselves. If they allowed other management to interfere, men would soon be found who would put the mechanics on one side, and make use of them only as tools. [Applause.] He meant to impute blame no where, least of all to Mr. Brougham, who agreed fully with him upon this point. He recollected the establishment of a literary institution, a kind of literary fund, at the head of which were Mr. D. Williams, a dissenting minister, and Mr. T. Morrice. This fund was intended for the relief of decayed authors, who had written in support of truth and justice, or their wives and families—well, what happened? The society flourished, it increased—but it soon got into other hands—the consequence of which was, that for years not a farthing had been paid out of it, except to those who had written in support of corruption and slavery.”

I gave my five pounds as a mark of my regard for and my attachment to the working men of the community, and also as a mark of my approbation of any thing which seemed to sustain that

these classes were equal, in point of intellect, to those who have had the insolence to call them the "*Lower Orders*." But, I was not without my fears, nor am I now without my fears, that this institution may be turned to purposes, *extremely injurious to the mechanics themselves*. I cannot but know what sort of people are likely to get amongst them. I know that there are *Rump Committees*, and I heard the name of "*JOHN CAM HOBHOUSE Esquire*," who gave *ten pounds* to the mechanics, while his father is receiving *twelve hundred pounds a year* as a *Commissioner about the Nabob of Arcot's debts*, and who has received out of the public money about *five and twenty thousand pounds* since *I can remember*; and that, too, in part, out of the sweat of these very mechanics. "*When father and son take different sides, lands and tenements commit no treason*." Thus BURDETT is thanked at the late dinner of "*Patriots*" for his *hostility to military outrage*; while his son, in a high court regiment of whiskerandoes, is *pushing on fast in time of peace towards the rank of General!* So much for *Rump Committees* and "*free and independent Electors of Westminster*."

Mechanics, I most heartily wish you well; but I also most heartily wish you not to be *humbugged*, which you most certainly will be, if you suffer any body but REAL MECHANICS to have any thing to do in managing the concern. You will *mean well*; but, many a cunning scoundrel will get *place or pension* as the *price* of you, whom he will sell just as unconcernedly as a grazer sells his

sheep at Smithfield. Scotch Fee-loosers are, sometimes, *varry cleverer men*; but, if you suffer yourselves to be put into their *crucibles*, you will make but a poor figure when you come out. An "*Institution*" to get the "*Combination Law*" repealed would, I fancy, be the most advantageous that you could, at this time, establish. The "*expansion of the mind*" is very well; but, really, the thing which presses most, at this time, is, the getting of something to *expand the body* a little more: a little more *bread, bacon, and beer*; and, when these are secured, a little "*expansion of the mind*" may do *varry weele*.

AMERICAN APPLE TREES.

I SHALL publish a list of the sorts, with the prices, in the next Register. In the meanwhile, some of the apples, and especially an apple, which grew on a graft that came from America last spring, may be seen at Fleet-street.—I cannot state more particulars at present, for want of room.—The grafts that were first put on, in my garden, were put on in May, 1821; that is, *thirty months ago*; and, I have now, apples of *five sorts* from them; and, the *finest collection of apples that I ever saw in England*. Two of my *Fall-pippins*, weighing *nine ounces each*, have been sent to the HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY'S Rooms, in Regent-street, where, as I understand, they may be seen after Tuesday next. In my

YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA, in the *Journal* part, there are these words: "October 7.—The 'wind is knocking down the fall-pippins for us. One picked up to-day, weighed 12½ ounces, 'avoidsupois. The average weight 'is nine ounces, or, perhaps, ten ounces."—Now, I have five fall-pippins this year from a graft put on in 1821. The weight of three of them is *nine ounces each*: the weight of one of the other two, *nine ounces and a half*; and the weight of the fifth, *eight ounces*.—Besides these, there is *one*, which grew on the graft brought from America this year, cut off the tree in *December*, and put on here on the *27th of April*. This apple weighs rather more than *seven ounces*.—Every one knows how bad this year has been for the *ripening* of apples; and yet my apples (*and not against a wall*), appear to be perfectly well ripened.—Mind, it is only *thirty months* since I put on my first graft. My wood shews for beautiful bloom. I have three *Newtown Pippins*. They are not full size. They weigh, however, *seven ounces each*, and the whole of the wood that they grew on, I mean *the whole from the place where the grafting took place*, does not, I am sure, and did not with the leaves on, weigh *half an ounce*. All these facts show, that there is, in these American grafts, a great aptness to produce *bearing wood*.—The leaves hang on late upon my trees. The last week in this month will be time enough to take them up.

MARKETS.

Average Prices of CORN throughout ENGLAND, for the week ending 1st November.

Per Quarter.	s.	d.
Wheat.....	50	0
Rye.....	28	1
Barley.....	27	4
Oats.....	21	0
Beans.....	33	6
Peas.....	24	2

Corn Exchange, Mark Lane.

Quantities and Prices of British Corn, &c. sold and delivered in this Market, during the week ended Saturday, 1st November.

Qty.	s.	d.	Price
Wheat... 8,200 for 21,209 14	9	Average, 52	2
Barley... 3,486... 5,220 5 1	29	11
Oats... 8,197... 10,043 13 11	24	6
Rye..... 91 .. 144 16 10	23	6
Beans... 1,169... 2,151 16 0	36	9
Peas... 1,263... 2,209 14 3	24	2

Quarters of English Grain, &c. arrived Coastwise, from Nov. 3 to Nov. 8, inclusive.

Wheat... 4,952	Peas... 1,354
Barley... 3,147	Tares... 63
Malt... 1,896	Linseed... 175
Oats... 5,533	Rape... 175
Rye... 42	Brank... 175
Beans... 1,205	Mustard... 126

Various Seeds, 285; and Hemp, 15 qrs.—four 6,687 sacks.
From Ireland.—Oats 345 qrs.
Foreign.—Wheat 500 qrs.

Friday, Nov. 7.—The arrivals of all kinds of Grain are only moderate for this season of the year. Wheat fully supports the prices of last Monday. Barley for our Maltsters' use finds sale freely, and grinding samples also maintain last quotations. Beans and Peas are without alteration. Good Oats meet a ready sale at the same rates as last quoted, but other kinds go off slowly.

Monday, Nov. 10.—The arrivals of all sorts of Corn last week were only moderate, and the quantities fresh up this morning are again middling from Essex, Kent, and Suffolk, with but few vessels with Oats from the North. There was a brisk demand for the best parcels of Wheat this morning, and superfine descriptions obtained rather higher prices than this day se'night; other qualities also sell more freely than of late, but not at better prices.

Barley for malting fully supports the terms of last Monday, but other qualities go off heavily. Beans of dry quality obtain 1s. per quarter advance on last quotations. Boiling Pease are unaltered. Grey Pease being scarce are again 1s. per quarter dearer. There was a free demand for good Oats, which sold on rather better terms than this day se'nnight, but other qualities remain as stated last week. Flour is unaltered.

COUNTRY CORN MARKETS.

By the QUARTER, excepting where otherwise named; from Wednesday to Saturday last, inclusive.

The Scotch Markets are the Returns of the Week before.

WHEAT.	s. d.	s. d.
Uxbridge, per load ...	10l. 0s.	16l. 10s.
Aylesbury... ditto ...	10l. 0s.	12l. 0s.
Newbury ...	4l. 0	— 66 0
Reading ...	40 0	— 58 0
Henley ...	38 0	— 63 0
Banbury ...	44 0	— 54 0
Devizes ...	36 0	— 65 0
Warminster ...	40 0	— 64 0
Sherborne ...	0 0	— 0 0
Dorchester, per load ...	10l. 0s.	15l. 10s.
Exeter, per bushel ...	7 6	— 8 3
Lewes ...	48 0	— 62 0
Guildford, per load ...	12l. 0s.	17l. 0s.
Winchester, ditto ...	0 0	— 0 0
Basingstoke ...	46 0	— 58 0
Chelmsford, per load ...	9l. 0s.	14l. 10s.
Yarmouth ...	44 0	— 48 0
Hungerford ...	44 0	— 63 0
Lynn ...	36 0	— 52 0
Horncastle ...	36 0	— 46 0
Stamford ...	36 0	— 52 0
Northampton ...	43 0	— 50 0
Truro, 24 galls. to a bush.	19 9	— 0 0
Swansea, per bushel ...	7 6	— 0 0
Nottingham ...	47 0	— 0 0
Derby, 34 quarts to bush.	42 0	— 57 0
Newcastle ...	38 0	— 57 0
Dalkeith, per boll * ...	18 6	— 27 0
Haddington, ditto * ...	20 0	— 32 0

* The Scotch boll is 3 per cent more than 4 bushels.

Liverpool, Nov. 4.—But little business has been done here in the Corn trade since Tuesday last, and during the week past Old Wheat and Oats scarcely met sales on equal terms of this day se'nnight, and New Irish Oats and Wheat were each sold below the prices of that day. The market of this day opened, from the numerous enquiries of both town and country dealers, with a lively aspect, and a few parcels of fine English and Irish Wheats were taken off at the prices of last Tuesday. In other articles of the trade there was so

little alteration in value, as to leave the last quotations unchanged.

Imported into Liverpool from the 25th October to the 3d November 1828, inclusive:—Wheat, 6,288; Oats, 6,316; Barley, 684; Malt, 1,827; Beans, 415; and Peas, 177 quarters. Oatmeal, 316 packs of 240 lbs. Flour, 1,966 sacks and 610 barrels.

Norwich, Nov. 8.—Our market was pretty fully attended by Growers to-day, in expectation of better prices for all sorts of Grain. This, however, was not realized, at least, to the extent expected. Wheat being from 40s. to 50s. for general runs, and for the most part very damp and cold, so as to render the kiln necessary; a few picked samples as high as 54s., but they were rare. Barley found ready sale at 24s. to 30s. per quarter. Other sorts in proportion.

Bristol, Nov. 8.—The supply of Corn, &c. still continues moderate to this place, and sales are effected nearly as follow:—Best Wheat from 7s. 6d. to 7s. 9d.; inferior ditto, 4s. 6d. to 6s. 3d.; Barley, 2s. 6d. to 3s. 9d.; Beans, 3s. 6d. to 5s. 3d.; Oats, 2s. to 3s.; and Malt, 4s. 6d. to 6s. 2d. per bushel. Flour, Seconds, 28s. to 46s. per bag.

Birmingham, Nov. 7.—Our Wheat trade was heavy yesterday, at 5s. to 6s. 8d. per 60 lbs. for Old, and 6s. to 6s. 4d. for New. Barley sold freely at 28s. to 32s. per quarter. Malt in pretty good request, at 6s. 6d. to 7s. per bushel. Oats steady, at 28s. to 30s. for Old, and 22s. to 25s. for New. Beans much sought after, at 15s. 6d. to 16s. per ten score for Old, and 14s. 6d. to 15s. for New. Peas, from 5s. to 6s. per bushel, in fair demand. Old Fine Flour, 48s. to 45s. per sack, and Old Seconds, 40s. to 43s.; New Fine, 40s. to 42s., and New Seconds, 36s. to 37s.; mixed Flour, 39s. to 40s. There was no

shortness of supply in any thing but Beans: Barley was much more plentiful than it has of late been, and was not worth so much money at the close of the market, nor is it expected that it will support the present quotations.

Ipswich, Nov. 8.—We had to-day a large supply of Barley, the best of which sold about 6d. to 1s. per quarter below last week's prices, and the middling and ordinary qualities 1s. to 2s. per quarter; only a moderate supply of Wheat, prices the same as last week; but very few Peas, and no Beans either New or Old.

Wisbech, Nov. 8.—Nothing but the best dry samples of Wheat supported last week's prices: inferior sorts dull in sale, and a trifle lower; 44s. to 48s. was given for best sorts. Oats and Beans without alteration. Mustard-seed the same.

Boston, Nov. 5.—We still continue to have a good supply of samples of Grain, without any variation, excepting very superior, which is very slow in demand, and sold as follows:—Wheat, 40s. to 48s.; Oats, 16s. to 22s.; Barley, 23s. to 30s.; and Beans, 32s. to 36s. per quarter.

Wakefield, Nov. 7.—The supply of Grain to this day's market is slender, except Oats and Shelling, which is abundant and more than equal to the demand. The finest samples of Wheat, both new and old, sell readily at last week's prices; middling and inferior descriptions are dull and difficult of sale.—Barley and Beans are each 1s. higher.—Oats and Shelling are dull, and a shade lower.—Malt in good demand, at 1s. per load advance.—No alteration in Flour, Peas, or Rape-seed.

Malton, Nov. 8.—Our market for all sorts of Grain continues nearly at the same price as for some weeks past.—Old Wheat,

58s. to 60s.; New ditto, 48s. to 54s. per quarter, five stone per bushel. Barley, 11d. to 12d. per stone; Oats, 9d. to 11d. per stone.

City, 12 November 1823.

BACON.

The belief of a scarcity of Hogs in Ireland is now pretty firmly established. We shall not be surprised, however, to find, in another month or six weeks, that there is plenty of Irish Bacon in London. From present appearances prices are likely to go higher.—On board, 38s. to 40s.; Landed, 46s. to 48s.

BUTTER.

Taking *Moore's Almanac* for his guide, a person might write a table of prices for this trade for a twelve-month to come. Allowing a latitude of a month, as the Almanac-maker does, you would be almost sure to be right.—Some years ago every kind of Irish Butter was, at this time of the year, bought by name, without the necessity of the buyer's inspecting it. Now, no one who can pay for what he buys, will purchase without previously inspecting; and at this time there are hundreds of tons of Butter in this market, which will lose the importers four or five per cent. on account of its staleness, arising from its having been imported before it was wanted. So much of the Irish being stale, and an advance having taken place in the foreign markets, together with the prospect of a check to the importation of foreign Butter, have caused a demand for every thing that is fine, and a consequent advance of price.—On board: Carlow, 80s. to 83s.—Waterford, 74s. to 75s.—Dublin, 75s. to 76s.—Belfast, 78s. to 80s.—Limerick, or Cork, 72s.—Landed: Carlow, 82s. to 84s.—Belfast, 80s. to 82s.—Waterford, 75s. to 77s.—Dublin, 76s. to 78s.—Cork, or Limerick, 74s. to 75s.—Dutch, 94s. to 96s.—Holstein, 80s. to 86s.—Embsden, 68s. to 72s.

CHEESE.

Fine Old Cheshire, 74s. to 80s.; Middling, 69s. to 66s.; New, 68s. to 63s.—Double Gloucester, 66s. to 64s.; Single, 46s. to 58s.—The factors have bought too high, generally, to admit of any profit: and there are always undersellers in this article, in London.

SMITHFIELD, Monday, Nov. 10.

Per Stone of 8 pounds (alive).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	2	8	to	3 8
Mutton	3	4	—	3 10
Veal	4	0	—	5 0
Pork	4	0	—	4 8

Beasts ... 3,305 | Sheep ... 18,000
Calves ... 200 | Pigs ... 220

NEWGATE (same day).

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	2	0	to	2 8
Mutton	2	0	—	3 0
Veal	3	0	—	4 4
Pork	3	0	—	5 0

LEADENHALL (same day).

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	1	10	to	3 0
Mutton	2	8	—	3 2
Veal	3	8	—	5 0
Pork	2	8	—	4 8

POTATOES.

SPITALFIELDS.—per Ton.

Ware £2 5 to £3 15
Middlings 1 15 — 2 0
Chats 1 10 — 0 0
Common Red. 0 0 — 0 0
Onions . . 0s. 0d. — 0s. 0d. per bush.

BOROUGH.—per Ton.

Ware £2 5 to £3 10
Middlings 1 10 — 2 0
Chats 1 10 — 0 0
Common Red. 0 0 — 0 0
Onions . . 0s. 0d. — 0s. 0d. per bush.

HAY and STRAW, per Load.

Smithfield.—Hay .. 80s. to 105s.
 Straw...34s. to 40s.
 Clover 100s. to 126s.

St. James's.—Hay....65s. to 108s.
 Straw...36s. to 45s.
 Clover...95s. to 120s.

Whitechapel.—Hay....80s. to 110s.
 Straw...36s. to 44s.
 Clover...90s. to 135s.

Maidstone, Nov. 6.—Our Hop Trade continues quite as bad as last week; there are so few sales made, that we cannot say much about prices, but they are evidently getting lower every day.

Worcester, Nov. 1.—163 pockets of Old Hops were this day weighed in our Market. There is still a fair demand for good Hops of 1819, at 80s. to 95s., and 1821 at about

112s. The duty of the kingdom is stated at 23,000*l.* The duty of this plantation is not expected to reach 3*l.*

Cotton Market.

Friday, Nov. 7. — This is the prompt day at the India House, which has lately attracted so much attention, and which has occasioned so many Cottons to be thrown upon the market; the sales of East-India descriptions this week are between 3,000 and 4,000 bags; nearly the whole has been disposed of at $\frac{1}{4}$ d. discount, a few parcels at $\frac{1}{2}$ d. discount on the India House sale prices.

COAL MARKET, Nov. 6.

Ships at Market. Ships sold. Prices.

34½ Newcastle..28½..40s. 0d. to 46s. 9d.
 34½ Sunderland..28½..40s. 0d. —47s. 9d.

CORBETT'S WEEKLY REGISTER.

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Published every Saturday Morning, at Seven o' Clock.

TO
MR. CANNING.

On the Preparations which he is said to be making with regard to South America.

Kensington, November 20th, 1853.
SIR,

We have recently seen, in the *Courier* newspaper, which is pretty well understood to contain nothing that is likely to be displeasing to you; in this newspaper we have recently seen, that which amounts to a positive assurance, that you are making preparations for war, rather than suffer the King of France to assist the King of Spain in the reducing of the colonies of Spain to their former state of obedience. I have, in my last publication, shewn in

what light we ought to consider this intention of yours, in regard to ourselves; that is to say, how far preparations of the description of which I am speaking, agree with your past measures, considered merely as measures relating to the interests of England. I there shewed how monstrous it was, that you should have refused to acknowledge the independence of the South American States five years ago; that you should have persevered in that refusal during these five years; that you should not only have refused to acknowledge the independence of those States, but that you should have passed a law for the express purpose of preventing them from becoming independent; for, such, undeniably was the act, called the *Foreign Enlistment Act*. I have there shewn, that you must be

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blind, indeed, if you did not perceive that the re-subjugation of the colonies of Spain would necessarily follow the success of the French arms in that kingdom; and that nothing much short of madness could have induced you to suppose that France would not assist Spain in the recovery of her colonies. The Opposition, as it is called, which you have to deal with, is a very mild, merciful body of men, and, therefore, you have little inconvenience to apprehend from it; but I should suppose, that you are scarcely quite so besotted as to believe, that you will find the people at large so supple and so complaisant as that Opposition.

However, leaving these matters to be settled between you and the people of England, let us now consider, what kind of figure you will make in the correspondence, which will, in all probability, take place between you and the French Minister relative to this subject. You must be the *complaining party*; unless, indeed, you mean

to begin with cannon balls. The French will, to a certainty, lend their aid to Spain, for the purpose of reducing the colonies to obedience. However, let us proceed hypothetically; let us suppose France to give her assistance to Spain, for the purpose before mentioned: let us suppose a body of French troops and a squadron of French ships to be at the Havanna, with the avowed intention of reducing the colonies of Mexico to obedience. *If you do nothing*, the expedition sails, and Mexico again acknowledges the sovereignty of the King of Spain.

And now, Sir, will you do any thing? And if you do something, *what* will you do. Will you send an armament to meet and fight the forces of France? If you do, the result will be in the hands of the god of battles. But, of the probable consequences of this mode of proceeding I shall speak by-and-by, when I have endeavoured to ascertain what you will be able to say, if you commence the battle

with the pen, instead of commencing it with cannon balls.

You see the expedition at the Havana ready to sail; you ask M^{rs}. CHATEAUBRIAND what he is going to do with that expedition; he answers, that he is going to assist the King of Spain to put an end to the revolt, to the insurrection, existing in his colony of Mexico. What have you to say further? Is not this answer complete? Have you any thing to gainsay? In short, is there any thing that you can hatch up as a reason for interfering with France in this case, or for taking umbrage at her conduct?

Will you say that one nation is not to interfere in the affairs of another nation? You will hardly say this, after your wars in Spain and Portugal, after your Constitution making and your Constitution destroying in Sicily; after, in short, expending seven hundred million of pounds sterling of borrowed money which is yet unpaid, in order to interfere, and to hire others to interfere in the affairs of

France. You will hardly deny this right of interference; and will, therefore, say, as the Courier has said in your name, that Mexico IS independent; that that matter is settled. And that Mexico is as much an independent nation as France is. Well, but, as I have just observed, you interfered for twenty-two years in the affairs of France. You will say that you laudably interfered; that you interfered for the lawful sovereign against his rebellious or misled subjects. Well, and will not France now interfere for the lawful sovereign of Mexico, against his rebellious or misled subjects?

But, say your advocates, and you will doubtless say to Monsieur CHATEAUBRIAND, these were JACOBINS in France, against whom we took up arms. Names, my good Mr. CANNING, are sometimes of great use with the vulgar, the great vulgar as well as the little vulgar, and, in trifling matters, they may be suffered quietly to work their way; but, in so serious an affair as this, it becomes

us to look well into the nature of the things, and not to be amused with names. Those who are carrying on the revolt in Mexico you call PATRIOTS. It is, therefore, worth while to ask in what respect these persons differ from those, whom you made war upon because they were Jacobins. Both are *men*; both walk upon two legs; both eat and drink from a table; both cover their bodies with clothes of some sort or other. There is no difference between them in these respects. Let us see, then, what difference there is in their *public conduct*; for it is here that we must find, if we any where find, the reasons for calling those of Mexico Patriots, while we give the name of Jacobin to those of France.

What, then, was the public conduct of the Jacobins? They declared that they no longer owed allegiance to their King; they issued a declaration of rights, in which they declared, that every people had a right to choose the sort of government to be esta-

blished in their country; they abolished all titles of nobility, and all revenues of the church; and, finally, they raised bodies of soldiers to fight against the troops of their King. Write for a hundred years, rail till the day of eternity, explain and split hairs with all the jabbering and all the cunning of a Jew; and at the last you will find, that these things, these acts, this public conduct, constituted the true characteristic of a French Jacobin.

Now, then, what has been the public conduct of the leaders in Mexico? Have not they declared that they no longer owe allegiance to their King? Have not they issued a declaration of rights, in which they have declared, that every people has a right to choose the sort of government to be established in their country? Have not they abolished all title to nobility, and all the revenues of the church? And, finally, have they not raised bodies of soldiers to fight against the troops of their King? That they have done all these things is

notorious to the whole world ; that they are doing all these things now is as notorious ; and yet, Sir, to these leaders is given the name of *Patriot*, while the hated name of *Jacobin* is given to the revolutionists of France. You, Sir, at the time when the French revolution was raging, wrote and published a newspaper, to which you gave the name of *ANTI-JACOBIN*. And, are we destined to behold you, above all men living, wielding your pen to defend that very set of principles, to make war for the extermination of which you formerly so vehemently and incessantly called upon the people of England ?

We have recently seen, that our ambassador in Spain, has been instructed to *congratulate* King Ferdinand. We have also seen, that an envoy has been sent expressly to carry and to present, from our King, the *ORDER OF THE GARTER*, to the King of Portugal, and to congratulate him also. Now, Sir, these are important steps. They are not to be considered as mere matters of form : they are to be

considered as expressive of the satisfaction of the King of England at the overthrow of the Constitution in Spain and Portugal. Will you deny, that, in the acts of congratulation ; will you deny that there was included, that there was clearly understood, an expression of your King's satisfaction at the success of the French interference in Spain ? You must have advised these congratulations. The ambassador in Spain received his instructions from you. The congratulating agent was sent out to Lisbon by you. You drew his instructions and framed his congratulatory speech. Your envoy *ran a race* with the envoy of France. No Order of the Garter was there for King JOHN, nor congratulation for King FERDINAND, until they had regained their former sway, and that, too, in consequence of the interference of a *foreign force*, it being notorious that the counter-revolution in Portugal, as well as that in Spain, is wholly due to the army of the Duke D'ANGOULEME : no Order of

the Garter for the one, no congratulation for the other, until the relationists had been put down, until the "*Rights of Man*," and the "*sovereignty of the people*," had been trampled under foot; and yet you, even you, the very author of these congratulations, are now to prepare (as your advocates tell us) for an attack on the French Government, for bitter complaints against that Government, if it attempt to assist the King of Spain in the recovery of his colonies. Ridiculous enough is the figure which you already make; but if you are to become the assailant of the French Government upon this ground, you will be an object of compassion even amongst the Radicals.

But, your advocates say, ah, indeed, you yourself almost said in your despatch of the 31st March last. These advocates say, that the independence of South America is, what the French call, a *finished affair*; and that, therefore, you are at liberty to acknowledge their independence. To

be sure you are. The United States have acknowledged the independence of several of the colonies of South America; and these States will unacknowledge them the moment they see a French force fitted out against them, which force they deem sufficient to reduce them to obedience. You may acknowledge their independence. The French have too much sense to quarrel with you on that account. You may send out consuls, commissioners, envoys and even ambassadors. They will *only have to come away*; only have to decamp, when the countries come again under the sway of their Sovereign.

In this work of *acknowledging* there is, therefore, no difficulty. In this enlightened age; this age of astonishing improvements, it is not at all wonderful that the child is able to instruct the parent. These modern saints, the Methodist Society, tell us that, very frequently, their children sit upon the knees of old men and women, teaching the poor old creatures to

read the Bible. An old farmer, who, in flood-time, was driving a cow and calf through the village of Botley, and who, seeing the calf walk dry-shod over the wooden bridge, while the cow was nearly drowned in going through the river, very wisely observed, "every generation grows wiser and wiser." Thus it seems to be with nations, too; and, if you do not yet understand how to unacknowledge the independence of new States, the United States of America will give us a lesson upon the subject; a *practical* lesson; not a piece of mere cold precept, but an animating, a heart-cheering example. The French Minister has, I dare say, the positive assurance of the American Minister at Paris, that the United States desire nothing so much, as to unacknowledge those South American republics, which, if they have independent governments, must, in the nature of things, be the rivals of the United States; must be the enemies of the United States; and

the friends and allies of England.

You may acknowledge the new States, therefore, as soon as you please; but, unless you be ready to maintain the authority of the Jacobins in those colonies by arms, your acknowledgment can be of no avail. You had *acknowledged* the government of the Cortes in Spain. You had *acknowledged* the Constitutional government in Portugal: and you hastened to congratulate the two Kings upon the overthrowing of these two Governments! After this France and Spain need not be in despair, though they were to find that you had an envoy in each of the new States of South America. The question is *settled*, you say, in South America. Eight months ago you told Monsieur de CrAUBERNIAND, that "time and the course of events, *appeared to have substantially decided the separation of the colonies from the mother country.*" Here are two qualifying words; *appeared* and *substantially*. Yours sincerely,

therefore, is rather too slippery for a common man to get hold of; and I will, therefore, leave it for somebody else to handle.

As to the *real state of the case*, however, nothing can be more notorious than the fact, that there is nothing worthy of the name of *government*, existing in any one of the colonies. Chili and Venezuela have *loans* in London. The infamous Stock-Jobbers; the wretched blaspheming Jews, buy and sell the stock of these Jacobins, who, having cast off allegiance to their King, are now actually endeavouring to sell or mortgage their country to the vilest race of beings that God ever suffered to infest the earth. These Jacobins have loans in the London "*market*;" and, what is curious enough, the gentlemen of Mexico have *two rival loans just coming out*! But, while this is going on, there is also a *civil war* going on in each of the colonies. The royalists are in possession of the capital of Peru; they are in possession of a part

at least, of Venezuela; and as to Mexico, which contains much more than half the population of South America, it is notorious that one half of the people are against the other half, and that all is in a state of absolute confusion. A letter, now in my possession, coming from a person whose word I can rely upon, assures me, that such is the state of confusion, and of danger to property, and even life, in the city of Mexico especially, that nine-tenths of the people of all ranks and degrees, pray for the arrival of a force sufficient to restore order and personal security. The letter says, that the question is not now a question of liberty or of slavery; but a question of life or death; and that there is no species of despotism, accompanied with any thing like security and peace, that almost the whole of the people would not prefer to the present state of things.

This I believe to be a true account of the situation of that fine country; but according to the

statements in Mr. CANNING's own newspaper, *Mexico has no government*. His newspaper tells us that a federative republic is forming in Mexico. As to what the thing would be if it *were* formed, I shall say nothing. But, it is not yet formed, at any rate.

This very newspaper tells us that there are two *Congresses*, differing from each other in opinion; and that there are several smaller assemblies, each of which differ from all the others, and the whole of which differ from the two *Congresses*. And this is the colony, the separation of which from the mother country, you Sir, say, "time and the course of events" appear to have substantially decided!"

In your despatch of March 31, you hint at a reason for protesting against French interference in this case. This reason is, that, if the colonies be recovered by Spain with the assistance of France, it is likely, that a part of them will be ceded to France. This is a very good reason for

your and my wishing that Spain may not recover her colonies; but it is no reason why France should not assist her in regaining those colonies. If you were to state this reason to Mons. de Chateaubriand; he would tell you, that you never listened to an argument of this sort, during your war of twenty-two years of interference in the affairs of France. You would have thought it strange indeed, he will tell you, if any one had objected to your taking of the Cape of Good Hope or Demerara out of the hands of the Dutch republic, *lest you should keep them to yourself*. This you did, in fact, do, and also the Mauritius, and Trinidad, and Malta, which you snatched from the hands of the Jacobins of those days. Mons. de CHATEAUBRIAND will tell you that it will be time enough for you to express your alarm, *lest France should keep to herself some of the colonies, which she shall be able to rescue from the Jacobins of 1823*; he will tell you that it will be time

enough for you to express your alarm on this score, *after you shall have given up* those colonies of France, Spain, and Holland, which you took from the Jacobins of twenty years ago! When you shall have given up those colonies to France, Spain, and Holland, and not one moment before, it will become you to tell France that she must not assist in the restoration of the colonies to Spain, lest she should keep a part of those colonies to herself.

The last and great argument, which you put forward, is this: that if the Spanish American colonies become free and independent States, Great Britain will derive from the change more advantage than any other country. A very good argument to make use of amongst the merchants of Liverpool and London; but a very bad one to make use of *at Paris*. This argument is quite sufficient to justify the French in exerting all their means to prevent the establishment of such independence. In one of the French papers (I forget which,) it has been observed, that an acknowledgment of the Spanish colonies as independent States, would cause such a change in the affairs of nations, such an alteration in their relative force, that it cannot be contem-

plated without the common consent of the great powers of Europe.

Now, Sir, are you the man to show, that it would not make such alteration; that it would not greatly affect the relative force of the nations of Europe? Your advocate, the Courier, laughs at the idea of the powers of Europe meeting in Congress to determine what shall be done with regard to seventeen millions of men across the Atlantic, though he does not appear to think it ridiculous, that the Government of this country should dispose, at its pleasure, of the liberties, properties and lives, not of *seventeen millions*, but of nearly *forty millions of men*; not, indeed, on the other side of the Atlantic, but, on the *other side of the globe*! Your eulogist and advocate, the Courier, is ready to burst with laughter at the thought of all the Sovereigns of the Continent of Europe assembling in Congress to determine on what ought to be done with regard to colonies containing seventeen millions of men in America; but the modest gentleman thinks it, I suppose, perfectly natural, that the fate of *forty millions of men* in Africa should be wholly subjected to the decision of a *company of merchants* assembled in Leaden-hallstreet. Indeed, Sir, habit

has taught you and your underlings a tone of arrogance which must and will meet with rebuke.

It is manifest, that the establishment of the independence of the South American colonies would produce a prodigious difference in the relative weight of the European nations, to say nothing at present about the manner and the degree in which such independence would affect the United States. From the nature of things, the advantages to England, from the independence of South America would be very great, and would be almost exclusive. When I say *England*, here, I do not mean the people of England in general, I mean more particularly the *Jews* and *Jobbers*, I mean this odious aristocracy, and the almost as odious aristocracy of the merchants. The main body of the people would continue to be what they are now; that is to say, the most wretched creatures in Europe. But the *Jews* and *Jobbers* of *Change-alley* and the greedy merchants and big manufacturers would profit largely. They would soon have the proprietorship of the mines which would immediately be mortgaged to them by the modern *Patriots*, whom some call *Jacobins*, and whom you used to call *Jacobins* when it suited your

purpose. The Spanish people are, in all the newspapers, represented as exulting exceedingly, at the overthrow, of the Constitution and all its supporters, and at the prospect of seeing the *Inquisition* re-established. So dreadful are the stories, that we have heard and read; with respect to the *Inquisition*, that we are astounded when we hear that the people of Spain are pressing their King to re-establish this tribunal. But, Sir, the news of yesterday seems to explain this apparent wonder; for it tells us, that the people of numerous cities and towns, cried: "*Huzza for the Inquisition! Down with the Jacobins and JEWS!*" It is said that they cried, "*Down with COMMERCE;*" but, the whole is explained when we see the word *Jews*! And, from my soul, Sir, I agree with the Spaniards. What they mean by *Jacobins*, is that band of unprincipled ruffians, who have been mortgaging the land and labour of Spain to the execrable *Jews* and *Jobbers* of London! Can any thing in this world, Sir, be more mortifying to a man of spirit; can any thing be more galling than to see the soil of one's country mortgaged; than to see the labour of the child in the cradle made over, and that, too, to a band of goitre-

Jews and Stock-Jobbers ? No matter what might be my feelings about priests and about the Christian religion ; no matter how little my veneration for ancient establishments, I could not with patience behold the lands and buildings of a convent mortgaged to a race of Jews, and those Jews foreigners, too, while the base ruffians who borrowed the money had the audacity to call themselves patriots. The London press may ridicule the people of Spain as long as it pleases : I am not ashamed to say, that I agree with the people of Spain, and if I must have my choice, an Inquisition or a mortgage of my country to Jews, give me the Inquisition. The London newspapers may rail against fanatics of the Catholic religion ; it may rail against what it calls superstition and bigotry, as long as it pleases ; it may laugh at the scourging of the Irish for continuing to be Catholics : it was not my lot to be born a Catholic, and a Catholic I shall not be : but, this I know, that, from the day that the Jews were re-introduced into England ; from the day that Protestantism came in, bringing Judaism in its train, from that day the lot of Englishmen has been constantly changing for worse and worse !

Perhaps the Spanish people have heard of this, and hence the cry of " Down with the Jacobins and Jews ! " In the colonies the continental Jacobins have found very faithful imitators, who have sold or mortgaged, and are ready to sell and to mortgage every mine, every inch of land and every power to labour in the whole country. The English system, which raises sixty millions of pounds sterling a-year in taxes, which leaves the wretched labourer a few pence a day to exist on, which thus draws all the resources of the country into great masses ; this system is a system of *lending* and of *usury*. There are assembled here a set of monsters called Stock-Jobbers, who carry on this system. It is in the nature of money to accumulate. London is the money mart. The necessities of upstart governments, and their inability to raise money in a lawful manner, naturally make them borrowers. The Jews and Jobbers of London would very soon be the owners of all South America, and the people in those countries would be taxed and enslaved more completely, perhaps, than the people of any other part of the world. This would be a curious result of an *anti-jacobin* war carried on

by you in order to maintain the principle of the *sovereignty of the people!*

When the Spanish people cry "Down with Commerce," I suspect that they must mean English commerce; that is to say, contraband commerce or smuggling; and this was the sort of commerce, which was, I take it, carried on, about a year or two ago, and for the interruption of which, compensation was demanded, from the Cortes. But, "Down with the Jews" explains it all. Our London newspaper people are so clever, that they look upon all the rest of the world as brutes. But, do you imagine, Sir, that the Spanish people had not heard that their convents had been mortgaged to the London Jews? These Jews blame King Ferdinand for not acknowledging the loans of the Jacobins: I beg pardon of the Jacobins; I mean the *Patriots*. King Ferdinand is blamed for having annulled these loans; but, would it not have been a monstrous thing for him to have sanctioned this barefaced robbery of his people. Viewing the matter as a royalist, and as an Anti-Jacobin especially, can you conceive any thing half so odious, half so detestable, as the seizing upon convents and churches, in order

to make them over to infamous Stock-Jobbers and blaspheming Jews?

Yet, if the South American States were to become independent the same sort of traffic would be carried on with regard to the mines and the lands of that country. Our manufactories, our shipping, every thing belonging to us, except the labouring classes, would be fed and strengthened by the independence of South America. It is hard to conceive it possible for our Government openly to declare for the independence of those States without conceding something like right of election to the people. Indeed, it seems almost impossible to acknowledge the independence of those States without a war, and not, at the same time, to make a Reform of the Parliament. If this latter were to take place, the independence of South America would be beneficial to the people of this kingdom; and at any rate, such independence would give great strength to our Government, for which I for one should be very sorry, unless South American independence were accompanied by Reform in England.

However, this is not the point: the point is whether it would be safe for France, Spain and the

United States of America to suffer England to be aggrandized, strengthened and fortified by the acquisition of the South American States; for, acquisition it would be, whatever name we might choose to call it by. The moment that independence were established in South America, the new States, and particularly Mexico, must become *dependant upon us*. These States being at our nod, the United States of America and the Spanish and French West India Islands would *never more taste of security or peace*. I, as an Englishman, supposing reform to have taken place, would, of course, wish to see such a state of things. Look at me, and find, if you could, hardly a square league out of the whole sea out of my reach. From Norway to the Scilly Islands; from them to Ireland; from that to Newfoundland; then to the mouth of the St. Lawrence; from the Capes, Bays and Islands there scattered about, I come to Nova Scotia, then go up and down taking both sides of the Bay of Fundy; thence I slide along the American coast to Bermuda; thence to the Bahammahs; I am already at Demerara, Basequibo and Trinidad; and if you put new Granada, Venezuela and Mexico

into my possession, how very small is that part of the whole Atlantic Ocean which I do not encompass?

Very consonant this with English ambition and with the desires of English patriotism; that is to say, as to the latter, if there were a Reform in Parliament. Very consonant with these; but not at all consonant with the interests of France, Spain, and the North American States. Spain cannot revive without the restoration of her colonies to her. She must have her colonies to re-establish herself; and, if France advance her the worth of a colony, she must, of course, give up the colony to France. And, pray, Sir, is there any thing new in a transaction of this kind? Did you not see these beautiful colonies the Floridas given up to the United States of America; aye, and very much against the will of the people, too, in order to balance a money-account real or pretended? You saw this transfer take place. You saw the Spanish Crown stripped of these fine colonies; you saw the key of the Gulf stream put into the hands of the Americans; and you had not the courage to say a word. You saw the negotiation for this transfer going on for years; you saw the transfer

take place : and you never so much as remonstrated.

Upon what ground, then, are you to make an outcry, if France receive a colony from Spain ? Upon what ground, I say ? Is France stronger than the United States ? Not in that part of the world. France would have a claim to a colony of Spain, which the Americans never had to the Floridas ; that is to say, if France were to assist in restoring the colonies to Spain. Never did the United States render any assistance to Spain : they coveted a part of her dominions : they saw her enfeebled by internal troubles, and they extorted it from her.

Therefore, here is precedent for that which you seem to view as a matter essentially unlawful. You tell Monsieur de CHATEAUBRIAND, in the despatch of the 31st March, that "His Majesty is satisfied, that no attempt will be made by France, to bring under her dominion any of those possessions, either by conquest, or by cession from Spain." In the Court of Chancery, the word impertinence means something *uncalled for*.

This observation of yours merits the appellation of impertinence, with quite another meaning attached to it ; for, Sir, what authority had you to make such an ob-

servation ? Monsieur de CHATEAUBRIAND discovered extraordinary forbearance, by refraining from asking you how it came to pass that your predecessor instructed his envoy to make no such observation at Washington, at the time of the cession of the Floridas. There does indeed appear to be something quite monstrous, in our saying to France, we will not suffer the King of Spain to bring back the colonies to obedience ; we will not suffer him to attempt it, because we know that he cannot succeed without your assistance, and because we suspect he will give up part of the colonies to you ; and to say this to France, too, while we hold Malta, the Cape, the Mauritius, Ceylon, Trinidad, Demerara and Essequibo : verily, Sir, it would be a thing the most impudent that ever yet found its way into a diplomatic correspondence : a thing fit enough to proceed from some hardened Jew of the London Stock Exchange ; but disgraceful to either the pen or the tongue of any other man upon the face of the earth !

Some writer tells a story of the King of France, who, complaining to his Minister of the conduct of the Swiss Cantons was told by the Minister that

they had *Justice* on their side. "Have they," said the King, "then, by G—d, I will declare war against them to-morrow morning." When a man refuses to leave the decision of his case to arbitrators, and insists upon *going to law*, be assured that he knows he is wrong. Whoever *strikes*, in answer to an *argument*, is sure to be in fault. What, then, will the world say? What will the French people, what the Spanish people, what the South Americans themselves, what will any one say, if you, in this case, refuse to submit the question to the *Congress of Sovereigns*. You could go to the Congress of Sovereigns when the object was to make a new division of the territory of Europe. You could go to the Congress of Sovereigns and there assist in giving independence to this State, and taking independence from that State! Alas! Sir, what a figure will you make!

You could go to the Congress of Sovereigns, and you could be there by no means an inefficient personage, when the object was to pare down the territory of France, and to take from her a valuable part of her frontier. Nay, you could apply to the Congress of Sovereigns, when the

object was to strip France of the *statues and pictures won by her arms*! You could appeal to the Congress of Sovereigns upon all these and upon many other occasions, not forgetting, in particular, that memorable and sweetly-sincere application to the Congress of Sovereigns, relative to the slave trade, which is absolutely without a parallel, even in the records of modern English diplomacy. You could apply to the Congress of Sovereigns in these cases; apply to them to *make France abolish the slave trade*; but you will not apply to them now that it is a question of dependance or independence to States containing seventeen millions of people! It was quite proper to apply to them to give "the weight of their influence, in favour, as far as related to France, of an entire and immediate abolition of the slave trade;" very proper to call upon them for this purpose; very proper to call upon the Allied Sovereigns to assist in preventing the French planters from getting Negroes to re-animate their plantations, and to bring sugar and coffee to Europe as well as our planters: very proper to go to the Congress of Sovereigns for this purpose; but, when the question

is, whether certain colonies are to be restored to the King of Spain, or are, under the name of independence, to be suffered to remain in a state of half-commotion, beneficial only to the Jews, Merchants, and the Government of England; when this is the question, your advocates ask with a sort of *astonishment*, what a Congress of Sovereigns can *have to do* with seventeen millions of men on the other side of the Atlantic!

Enough, and more than enough! The stupidest of mankind cannot be deceived by injustice and insincerity so barefaced. But, there remains to notice the question of your *power*, in this case: first, your power of *making war at all*; and next, the *probable consequences* of your making, or attempting to make, use of that power.

To make war you must have *money*. The whole of the taxes now collected amount to nearly sixty millions of pounds sterling a-year. Of these the DEBT to the fundholders and the DEBT to the pension-holders amounts to more than *forty millions* sterling a-year. The remainder goes to pay the *army*, the *navy*, and the *current expenses* of the government. To go to war would require an additional income an-

usually of at least twenty millions. And, *can you get this?* Can you get this at a time when the *landed proprietors* are pawning their estates to the money-changers, and when *farmers* are going into the prison for insolvents at the rate of more than *three thousand in the year*? Can you, under these circumstances, collect twenty millions of taxes a-year in addition to the sixty millions? It is possible that *you* may think you can; for, to say the truth, you have but a very moderate portion of understanding about the matter; but, I believe there is not one single man of good sense in the whole kingdom who will say that he believes any such possibility; unless, indeed, you come to a debased paper currency, as worthless as the Assignats in France.

You will ask, perhaps (for you are shallow enough to ask it), why you should not be able to expend *eighty millions sterling a-year* during another war, seeing that you did it during the last war? Have you forgotten, then, that since the close of the last war, you have made an alteration in the value of the money; that you have made the currency of the country almost three times as valuable as it was before; and, indeed, quite three times as valuable, seeing

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that under circumstances like the present wheat used to sell for eighteen shillings a bushel or twenty shillings a bushel during the war ; and that now it sells for only six shillings a bushel ? Have you forgot, in short, that by the alteration in the value of money, you have augmented threefold the amount of your debt and your pensions ?

You have seen your danger, when it became too late to see it. In 1819 you passed a bill, for the express purpose of causing gold and silver to return to supply the place of paper-money. Terrified at the ruin to landlords, to farmers, to all the industrious classes ; terrified at the revolution in property which this measure was causing to take place ; terrified at the effects of a transfer of property from all the other classes into the hands of Jews and Jobbers ; terrified at this, you have endeavoured to arrest the progress of the revolution, by another bill, repealing the former bill in a material part, and causing paper-money to circulate still, instead of returning to the use of gold and silver as was enacted by the former bill.

But, though this continuation of the paper-money system, has mitigated the effects of your former measure ; though it causes paper-

money to circulate in the distant parts of the kingdom ; and, indeed, in all the counties, still, according to your first measure, the Bank of England is compelled to pay in gold upon demand. Therefore, though the latter measure has rendered the revolution in property somewhat slower, still that revolution is going on ; still the tax-gatherer continues to come and take from the other classes, by degrees, that money which he carries to the Fundholders and the Pensioners ; and with that money the Fundholders and the Pensioners come at last and purchase the estates.

From these causes, have proceeded effects such as, I believe, never were witnessed before in the world. Where you got possession of effrontery sufficient to enable you to assert the other day at Plymouth, that this country is in a state of *prosperity* ; whence you derived this effrontery ; whether it be natural or acquired is not for me to say ; but that it is without a parallel I venture to assert. If this country be in a state of prosperity, what are the signs of prosperity ? In Great Britain rents falling one half in amount ; *Gentlemen* driven from their country-houses, their families and themselves reduced to

beggary, and their estates passing into the hands of Jews; a full third part of all the gentlemen of the country actually driven from their estates already, and a large part of the remainder only remaining in their houses, until the law shall have put the new masters in possession. *Farmers* are that class of persons who have been always looked upon as not at all liable to those vicissitudes to which merchants and traders are exposed. This class of men, of means formerly as firm as the ground which they till; this class of men has been, in considerable portion, broken up and brought to beggary. Hundreds of thousands of families, who never expected to be brought within the reach of want, have been reduced to live on alms. This is absolutely a *Nation of ruined men*: in the nineteen days which have passed of this *instant month of November*; in these nineteen days *upwards of six hundred men have surrendered themselves as insolvent Debtors*. In England alone, exclusive of Scotland and Ireland. More than *four hundred of these have been farmers*; and as to Ireland: the Dublin newspapers informed us the other day, that *upwards of three hundred farmers have been declared insolvent deb-*

tors in the County of Cork alone. But, do you not blush, Sir, to talk of the *prosperity* of the country; do you not blush to make use of this word as applicable to this kingdom, at a time when you know that the poor miserable wretches of labourers, are, in many cases, receiving only ten-pence, or twenty French sous, a-day, to maintain a man, his wife and three children; that is to say, hardly the price of a pound of bread a-day for each, with nothing for drink, fireing, clothing, house or bedding? Are you not ashamed to make use of the word *prosperity*, while it is notorious that we are living in this state of things?

Are these inventions of mine? Are not the facts stated in official documents? Have they not all been stated in Reports to the Parliament? Can I, or can any other man *exaggerate*, when it has been stated in Reports to the Parliament itself, that a large part of the people, or a very large part of all the labouring classes in the kingdom are suffering from hunger and nakedness; and when it is notorious, that, but a few months ago, the people of *whole parishes* received the *extreme unction* from the hands of their parish priest as a preparation for that death, which was approaching them from

want of food? Can any man exaggerate when this is an undeniable fact? And yet, while all this is perfectly notorious, and while such is the distress, the misery and the raging hunger of the wretched labourers in England, that one third part of all the prisoners in all the gaols, consist of men put into those gaols for having killed or attempted to kill hares, pheasants or partridges; while there are, in all probability, from ten to fifteen hundred poor wretches of labourers, in gaol at this very moment for having killed or been in pursuit of these animals, driven thereto by irresistible hunger; while these things are notorious, you have been able to find the face to stand up in a company of Englishmen and to declare the country to be in a state of *high prosperity!*

What are we to call this but mere empty boasting, with a view of deceiving the world, and, particularly of deceiving the French Government? But, do you think that the French Government are thus to be deceived? Do you think that they do not know the state of this country? Do you think that Parson MORRITT and other parsons can employ *soldiers to collect their tithes, that bloody battles can be fought in the col-*

lection of tithes; do you think that these things can take place; and that a large part of the Irish people, can be kept by military force, shut up in their houses from sunset to sunrise: do you think that this eternal war can be going on, and the French Government know nothing at all about the matter? If you did believe this before, you cannot believe it now, instructed as you are, or ought to be, by the Oriflamme, and the Journal des Debats.

Such, then, is, Sir, a very feeble description of the state of this country. And is this a country, then, to go to war? You know well that it is not: you know well that war cannot be begun without a complete overthrow of this whole System of Government. As a preliminary step you must return to the debased paper-money; that would then blow up the funding system: and what is then to become of *you* and your Government? But, let us suppose, for argument's sake, that you were to be able, by some expedient or other, to fit out a fleet and to make a show for fight. And, let us suppose, too, that the Governments of France and Spain, sanctioned by the powers of Europe, for whose sanction you applied, remember, (though I do not find that you

obtained it!) for the seizing of the pictures and statues in the Museums of Paris; let us suppose that, sanctioned by these powers, the Kings of France and Spain persevere. You are then at war with France and Spain; and then comes the grand question: Will you be again suffered to exercise the *right of search*? Mind, without exercising the right of search you are sure to be beaten! The commerce of France and Spain will be securely carried on in spite of you; or you will have to fight with the United States of America, with Russia, with Prussia, and, very likely, with Holland, who, doubtless, sighs for an opportunity of getting back the Cape and Ceylon.

War with these powers is *sure* to take place, if you attempt to enforce the right of search. The French and Spanish fleets, owing to the crippling which they got during the last war, and, more especially, in the death of the royalist naval officers of France, would, doubtless, be found to be somewhat deficient in point of officers and of discipline. But these powers have ships and all the material for naval warfare, and the United States of America have officers and sailors; and you may, probably, have not quite

forgotten, as yet, *what sort of officers and sailors those are*. If you believe that the Americans will yield to your right of search; if you believe that they will side with you to prevent the recolonising of the South American States: if you believe either of these: if you believe yourself capable of cajoling them over to your side, by calling them the "*daughter*" of Old Mother England; by prattling forth such stuff as you prattled forth at Liverpool the other day; or by telling them that you are fighting against the "*despots*" of France and Spain, in favour of a family of *dear sister republics*: if you believe, that you can, by such means, or by any other means, cajole the United States to take part with you in the war, or to submit to the right of search during such war: if you believe either of these, you are a man not to be argued with, but to be pitied.

Amongst the effects of war, under such circumstances, and without any previous change of Government here, amongst these effects, would, I verily believe, be an *invasion of Ireland from America*; and I can assure you, Sir, that it was a question in America, whether this should not be attempted, in the year 1814; and

I assure you further that my belief is, that it would have been attempted if the war had continued another year. I do assure you that the Americans have not forgotten the threat to depose JAMES MADISON. If France, Spain, America, and Russia, were to affect to talk of the *independence of Ireland*, should we not make the very heavens ring with expressions of resentment? And yet, Sir, would this be much more outrageous, than for us to talk about acknowledging the independence of Mexico; a country containing a population twice as numerous as that of Ireland; a country as clearly owing allegiance to the King of Spain as Ireland owes allegiance to our King. Ours is the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; and FERDINAND is the King of Spain and the Indies. Our King sends a Viceroy to Ireland: the King of Spain sends a Viceroy to Mexico. It is true that some persons in Mexico have raised up commotion against their King, and have sent agents to get themselves acknowledged and to get succours from foreign States; but have there been, and are there, wanting commotions in Ireland! And have there been wanting Irishmen to go to foreign coun-

tries, to endeavour to prevail upon them to acknowledge the independence of Ireland and to send her succours: nay, have such acknowledgments been wanting, and have such succours been refused? If you make war for the independence of Mexico, you will, at any rate, be in no want of precedent, as long as the expedition of the "*Jacobin*" General HOOKE shall make part of the history of Ireland!

Can you proceed, Sir, do not your cheeks burn as you read? Do you remember with what vehemence you and your satellites called for justice on those who had invited the invasion of HOOKE? And will you land an army in Mexico or Venezuela; will you assist the revoltiers there against their Sovereign, without first begging pardon of God and man for your censures on those who, for having invited the "*Jacobin*" invasion of Ireland, expired on the scaffold or the gallows?

In conclusion, let me observe to you (and I do it as a friend), that the vapourings of yourself and of your newspapers, will deceive nobody except those who wish to be deceived. In the whole of your conduct, since the first mention of the congress of Verona, there have been incessant proofs of your

conscious weakness. Your despatches, during the Congress of Verona, and before the march of the French into Spain, exhibit, to discerning minds, nothing but a series of attempts to *disguise your inability to go to war*. How strange! So soon after having boasted of being the conquerors of France; so soon after naming a bridge across the Thames the Bridge of Waterloo; so soon after having voted even millions of pounds sterling to erect monuments to commemorate your victories over France!

It is always curious to observe the expedients resorted to by the feeble in order to avoid an open acknowledgment of their weakness. But never were there, perhaps, expedients of this sort more amusing than those employed by the English Ministers in this emergency. First, they attempted to persuade the French that it was not their interest to meddle with the Spaniards at all. Finding the French not to be persuaded to this, they *offered their mediation at Paris*. Finding their mediation rejected by the French, their Ambassador at Paris sends off a private friend to Madrid, to *endeavour to persuade the Cortes to give way*. Finding that the Cortes wanted fleets and armies

instead of advice from private friends, and that nothing is to be done in the mediating way, the English Ministers begin to *talk big*, not to the French but at them. Lord LIVERPOOL, in his Speech in Parliament, calls the march into Spain an *unprovoked aggression*: Mr. HUSKISSON does the same at Liverpool. A great deal of *question and answer* is carried on in the Parliament, in order to *hint* to the French, that if they persevere, we *may go to war*. The French *do not take the hint*. They march: Lord LIVERPOOL then says, that there is a *civil war* raging in Spain; and you, Sir, *pray* for the success of the Spaniards; that is to say, if Lord Liverpool spoke truth, for the success of civil war!

Did the world ever before behold such a tissue of inconsistencies and of miserable expedients, to disguise the weakness of the parties! Asserting all the while, that we *were well able to go to war*, if the occasion should arise; asserting too, in fact, that the occasion *had arisen*; and yet, telling their ambassador from Verona *from the very outset*, that, "let what *would happen*, peace *for herself*, England was determined to have!"

Alas! Sir, this, unless you re-

solve first to change the Government at home, is the only rational determination. You have been "great conquerors." You "conquered" France. The roofs of St. Stephen's rang with this word conquer. You have gained an immensity of territory during the late wars. You have covered yourselves, and your country; according to your own repeated, and ten thousand times repeated boast; according to proclamations of the King, to resolutions of the Parliament, and even to Acts of that Parliament, you have covered yourselves and your country with glory, and have most prodigiously added to your dominions; and, which is very curious, you were *gaining* to this prodigious extent, while every other nation in Europe was *losing* in some way or other. The French lost their finest colonies; Spain lost some of hers; the Dutch lost almost all theirs; the Emperor lost; the Genoese were lost themselves: in short, every body lost but you.

Now, Sir, it was being very short-sighted, and *I told you this at the time*: it was being very short-sighted to suppose that a turn would not take place! That turn has begun to take place; and now, you will *lose* while the other nations will *gain*. The fact

is, as I have more than once before observed, you have made acquisitions of glory and of territory by *purchase*. I beg you not to be angry. This is what I have always said, and I maintain it. You won the battle of Waterloo. You marched to Paris. But did you do this alone? Look back, Sir, to the Debates in Parliament: you will there find that you yourselves boasted that you had *subsidized nearly a million of men of* different nations, to assist you in the enterprise; and that, besides these, one half of the people of France were on your side. It is notorious that you had a German army in your pay even in England itself. It is notorious that the half-pay and pensions of that German army, now form an item of your enormous Debt.

Therefore, Sir, your acquisitions of dominion and of glory have been by purchase; and the *purchase money* has not been paid. You borrowed the money wherewith to acquire the glory and the dominion; and, not being able to pay the money that you borrowed, you must, as other purchasers do when they cannot pay for what they purchased, give up the things purchased; that is to say, give up the glory and the dominion. This is a thing that

takes place amongst nations in a way somewhat different from that in which it takes place amongst individuals. It takes place by a sort of simultaneous movement of all the nations except the purchasing nation. God has implanted in nations as well as in individuals a strong desire to get back that which they formerly possessed. France and Spain, with the hearty good-will of all the other nations of Europe, are now engaged in this pursuit. To check them, requires *fresh purchases* to be made by you. And you are in debt in consequence of the last purchases. You cannot stir; and the nations must and will, keep on attacking you in some way or other, till they have got back all that you acquired, and, perhaps, a great deal more; for though I could tell you *the means*, of keeping all that you have, those means you will never employ.

How wonderful, then, that, at a moment when you ought to be thinking of nothing but the means of preserving what you have got, you should be thinking of grasping at another entire quarter of the world. Some eight or ten months, Sir, may be required to exhibit in their true colours your follies to the world; but, if you persevere, exhibited to the world those follies

will be. One would think that the bare thought of waging war for the *sovereignty of the people* would make you start back with affright; and, if you can think of the manifold miseries of the country, proceeding from a debt, which debt was contracted for the purpose of putting down for ever the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people; if you can think of these miseries, and at the same time propose to expend the blood and treasure of the country in defence of the sovereignty of the people; if you can do this, what is there that you cannot do, in the way of inconsistency or that of audacity?

A few months will tell us, whether the "*mighty masses*," of which you boasted, when at Plymouth, are to remain in a state of repose, or are to *ruffle their swelling plumes*; but, if, whether reposing or ruffling, they do not bring shame on the orator, the disappointment of no man ever was more great than will be that of,

Your most obedient and
Most humble Servant,
WM. COBBETT.

P.S. Since writing the above, I have seen the following in this same newspaper of yours, the Courier.

Honiton, Nov. 13.—Arrived here this day, at three P. M. on his way

to London, the Right Hon. George Canning, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, accompanied by Lord George Bentinck. On the arrival of the Right Hon. Gentleman and his friend, they were greeted with enthusiastic acclamations by the officers of this ancient and loyal borough; the principal gentlemen, and an immense concourse of the inhabitants. Immediately opposite the Golden Lion Inn, where the carriage stopped, were placed two hogsheds of cider and a quantity of biscuits to regale the poor. Flags, &c. were flying in different directions, with appropriate mottos, viz.—“*Canning for ever* ;” “*King and Constitution* ;” “*Church and King* ;” “*Old England, its laws and liberties* ;” “*The Wooden Walls of Old England* ;” “*God save the King* ;” “*May the King live for ever* ;” &c. The bells rang merrily, and continued so to do to a late hour. As soon as the *horses were taken off*, for the purpose of changing, the inhabitants (as many as the room would permit) took their places, and set off pell-mell through the town, loud and continued cheering; and, supposing the new road would be preferred, the leaders took the carriage some distance beyond the turnpike gate on that road before the mistake was discovered: which, on being announced, they *tacked about in a fine style*, and returned to the intended route, to the no small amusement and gratification of the Right Hon. Gentleman and his friend, who appeared much pleased with the attention paid them. The horses then supplied the places of their predecessors, when enthusiastic cheering was repeated.”

Much has been said in the London newspapers about the baseness of the people of Spain in carrying the Inquisitors in triumph, and in crying out, “Long live

King Ferdinand; Long live the Inquisition.” But, Sir, not a word is said by these London newspapers about these corrupt and filthy wretches of Honiton; who, in fact, exclaimed, “*Corruption for ever; bribery for ever; rotten boroughs for ever; seat-selling for ever.*” When I went as a candidate to Honiton, in the year 1806, I began by posting up a bill, having at the top of it this passage of Scripture: “*Fire shall consume the tabernacles of bribery.*” After this I addressed myself to the people of the place, telling them how wicked and detestable it was to take bribes. Most of the corrupt villains laughed in my face; but some of the women actually cried out against me as I went along the streets, as a man that had come to rob them of their BLESSING! The sum of money which they take for their vote, they call their blessing. Verily Sir, you are quite welcome to the cheerings of these people. This affair of ours is said to be the envy of surrounding nations and the admiration of the world; but, I really do think that there is not a man upon earth, not a single human being, however wretched, who will envy you the pleasure which, as is here asserted, you discovered at Honiton.

The foregoing letter has taken up so much of my room, that I am compelled once more to put off my advertisement of **AMERICAN TREES**. The leaves are not off yet, and, therefore, no time will be lost. I shall give a full account of the whole next week.—My correspondents who wrote to me about the **COUNTRY RAGS** will, I am afraid, be out of patience; but they may depend upon my inserting their letters when I have room to do it with suitable effect.—The information about the Rev. **CHARLES CALLED COLTON** is thankfully received, and shall be properly attended to in my next. This **COLTON** appears to be a precious jewel, indeed. He is, be it observed, a man with no less than two livings, as some say, and some say three. This church of ours, as by law established, shines exceedingly, now-a-days. What it will come to, at last, God only knows.—The letter about the **BREWERY AT READING**, is of great importance; but I have not room to treat of the matter this week.

SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR JOSEPH SWANN.

I HAVE great pleasure in informing my readers, that there had been this morning, (Thursday), five pounds seventeen shillings subscribed at the Office of the Register. A letter from some excellent men at Lymington, in Hampshire, has brought five pounds more; and another letter has brought an authority to draw, if necessary, for the whole of the seven pounds that were wanted. Thus, I have more than was wanted. Any gentleman that may have intended to subscribe, and that has not actually done it, will be happy to learn that his money may be reserved for some other occasion. I will publish all the particulars in my next. It is with singular satisfaction that I have to give this account to my readers.—I have received a letter from Mrs. SWANN since the date of my last Register, in which letter she tells me, that her husband has had pretty good health during the last summer. She will doubtless, when she has received the money which I have in my hand for her, make her public acknowledgments to the subscribers.

MARKETS.

**Average Prices of CORN through-
out ENGLAND, for the week end-
ing 8th November.**

	<i>Per Quarter.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Wheat	49	7	
Rye	31	8	
Barley	27	10	
Oats	20	10	
Beans	35	2	
Peas	34	0	

Corn Exchange, Mark Lane.

**Quantities and Prices of British
Corn, &c. sold and delivered in
this Market, during the week ended
Saturday, 8th November.**

	<i>Qrs.</i>	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Wheat..	8,273 for 21,889	9	6	Average, 52	10	
Barley..	3,630	5,632	14	10	31	0
Oats..	12,279	14,493	14	6	23	7
Rye.....	45	73	9	9	32	7
Beans ..	1,910	3,462	7	1	36	3
Peas....	1,215	2,273	7	11	37	4

**Quarters of English Grain, &c.
arrived Coastwise, from Nov. 10
to Nov. 15, inclusive.**

Wheat..	5,498	Pease....	1,600
Barley...	4,210	Tares.....	129
Malt.....	4,555	Linseed....	—
Oats....	1,602	Rape.....	55
Rye.....	10	Brank.....	—
Beans...	1,121	Mustard...	14

**Various Seeds, 286 qrs.—Flour,
8,847 sacks.**

From Ireland.—Oats 2,220 qrs.

Foreign.—Tares 10 qrs.

Friday, Nov. 14.—The quantities arrived this week are, Wheat 4,050, Barley 3,300, and Oats 2,580 quarters; Flour 5,370 sacks. These supplies are so very moderate, that more money was asked for nearly all kinds of Grain this morning. Prime Wheat sells at a trifling advance of Monday's terms. Barley, Beans, and Peas, fully support last quotations. In Oats there is not much business doing, but what few find sale obtain better prices than at the beginning of this week. The Flour trade is brisk.

Monday, Nov. 17.—The arrivals of all kinds of Grain last week were only moderate; there was, however, a good quantity of Flour. This morning we have a middling supply of Wheat, Barley, Beans, and Peas, from the surrounding counties, and only a few vessels from the north with Oats. At the early part of the market there was a brisk demand for fine samples of Wheat, and new parcels obtained an advance of 2s. per quarter on the terms of this day se'nnight. Old Wheat was also rather dearer; but the trade afterwards slackened, and the prices made early could not afterwards be realized.

The trade for Barley has been heavy, but lower prices than last quoted are not submitted to. Boiling Peas have no alteration from this day se'nnight. Grey Peas are again higher. Beans are much in

demand, and obtain 1s. to 2s. per quarter advance. Oats are in demand, and having but few at market, they obtain 1s. per quarter more than last Monday. The Flour trade is brisk, but there is no alteration in price, although several of the millers were desirous of advancing it.

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Price on Board Ship.

Flour, per sack	45s. to 50s.
— Seconds	40s. — 44s.
— North Country ..	38s. — 40s.

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COUNTRY CORN MARKETS.

By the QUARTER, excepting where otherwise named; from Wednesday to Saturday last, inclusive.

The Scotch Markets are the Returns of the Week before.

WHEAT.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Uxbridge, per load	10l.	0s.	16l.	10s.
Aylesbury... ditto	10l.	0s.	12l.	0s.
Newbury	42	0	—	67 0
Reading	41	0	—	58 0
Henley	38	0	—	63 0
Banbury	42	8	—	54 0
Devizes	47	0	—	67 0
Warminster	42	0	—	66 0
Sherborne	0	0	—	0 0
Dorchester, per load ...	11l.	0s.	15l.	10s.
Exeter, per bushel	7	6	—	8 6
Lewes	48	0	—	60 0
Guildford, per load	11l.	0s.	17l.	0s.
Winchester, ditto	12l.	0s.	16l.	5s.
Basingstoke	42	0	—	65 0
Chelmsford, per load ..	9l.	0s.	15l.	0s.
Yarmouth	46	0	—	52 0
Hungerford	44	0	—	63 0
Lynn	36	0	—	52 0
Horncastle	36	0	—	46 0
Stamford	38	0	—	53 0
Northampton	43	0	—	52 0
Truro, 24 galls. to a bush.	19	6	—	0 0
Swansea, per bushel	8	0	—	0 0
Nottingham	46	8	—	0 0
Derby, 34 quarts to bush.	48	0	—	57 0
Newcastle	38	0	—	55 0
Dalkeith, per boll *	18	0	—	27 0
Haddington, ditto *	21	0	—	31 6

* The Scotch boll is 3 per cent more than 4 bushels.

Liverpool, Nov. 11.—The demand from the country markets, generally drawing their supplies of Grain hence, continuing for the present suspended, there was very little business in this trade transacted during the past week. There was a tolerably fair demand, however, at this day's market for good Old Wheat and Oats, at fully the prices of this day se'nnight, and new Irish Wheat and Oats, even of inferior quality, fully retained their value, although but few sales were effected; so that most articles of the trade remain nominally the same as last advised.

Imported into Liverpool from the 4th to the 10th November 1823, inclusive:—Wheat, 625; and Oats, 4,587 quarters. Flour, 40 sacks. American, 600 barrels.

Norwich, Nov. 15.—There was evidently an increased briskness in the trade here this morning; though not manifested in any great advance of prices: Wheat from 44s. to 52s.; very prime dry samples of known good weight 58s. to 60s.; Barley much in request at 28s. to 30s. a few choice things as high as 31s. per quarter. Other sorts in proportion.

Bristol, Nov. 15.—The markets here at present are very sparingly supplied with Corn, &c. but more abundant supplies are expected soon. Prices as below:—Best Wheat from 7s. 9d. to 8s.; inferior ditto, 4s. 6d. to 6s. 3d.; Barley, 2s. 6d. to 3s.; Beans, 3s. 6d. to 5s. 3d.; Oats, 2s. to 3s.; and Malt, 4s. 6d. to 7s. per bushel. Flour, Seconds, 28s. to 46s. per bag.

Birmingham, Nov. 14.—The quotations of last week were generally fully maintained for both Grain and Flour, and there was considerable business done at the fore part of the day in samples of the best and dryest quality, but at the close of the market there was a flatness throughout the trade. Barley and

Beans were more plentiful. Our Maltsters are mostly getting busy. Supplies of Grain are by no means deficient, but the samples of New continue damp.

Ipswich, Nov. 15.—Our market to-day was largely supplied with Barley and Wheat. Prices remain much as last week, as follow:—Old Wheat, 50s. to 60s.; New ditto, 44s. to 54s.; Barley, 25s. to 31s.; Beans, 30s.; Peas, 31s.; and Oats, 21s. to 23s. per quarter.

Wisbech, Nov. 15.—Our market was rather brisk to-day in the sale of best dry samples of Wheat, which fetched as high as 50s. per quarter; second sorts from 44s. to 47s. Beans advanced a trifle. Oats without alteration.

Wakefield, Nov. 14.—We have a very short supply of Grain up the river for this day's market, and having many buyers, fine Wheats, New and Old, are full 2s. per qr. higher; but no alteration in other sorts. In Meal and Oats and Shel-ling no alteration. The supply of new malting Barley being very short, and the Maltsters most of them beginning to work, it is fully 2s. to 3s. per qr. higher; in grinding Barley no alteration. Old Beans are full 2s. per quarter, Malt 2s. per load, and Flour 2s. per bag higher. In Rape-seed no alteration.

City, 19 November 1822.

BACON.

The high prices which have been given for the Bacon already engaged to come forward, render it necessary that those who have made engagements should continue to buy: and the scantiness of the supplies hitherto in this Market is a great encouragement

to them to do so. Still, however, it is thought to be rather hazardous, the season for consumption being so far off; and the failures amongst the retailers, which continue to go on, giving cause for uneasiness to the wholesale men, who, many of them, are not in a state to bear *bad debts*, at a time when they are making no profits. The manufacturers in Ireland will do well if they get paid.—On board, 39s. to 40s.—Landed, New, 45s. to 48s.; Old, 38s. to 42s.

BUTTER.

There is a great apparent advance in this article; but it is not real: there is a difficulty in procuring any kind of Butter in a fresh state (owing to the cause we have so often mentioned); consequently every thing that is fresh is readily bought up at an advanced price: But, upon the whole stock, there has been no advance at all, as the holders of stale Butter too well know. The jobbers are striving hard to get prices up, and unless they succeed, they will lose by all they have been doing; and if an advance take place the loss will fall upon the retailers: for London is now too well supplied with provisions of various sorts, to admit of a disproportionate price being charged for any one article.—On board: Carlow, 82s. to 84s.—Belfast, 80s. to 81s.—Dublin, 77s. to 78s.—Waterford, 76s. to 78s.—

Cork or Limerick, 75s.—Landed:
 Carlow, 80s. to 84s.—Belfast, 80s.
 to 82s. — Dublin, 78s. to 80s. —
 Waterford, 74s. to 78s.—Cork or
 Limerick, 76s.—Dutch, 92s. to 96s.
 —Holstein, 84s. to 88s. By adding
 3s. per cwt. to the price on board,
 it will be seen how profitable a trade
 is importing!

CHEESE.

The factors have been buying
 briskly in the country, and at such
 prices as cannot be realized in Lon-
 don. They must go on, however;
 and trust the issue to the *chapter of*
accidents. This branch of the trade
 is carried on in a very snug way:
 the operations in it are not so pub-
 licly known as those in Butter and
 Bacon. A person cannot very well
 sell a quantity of Butter or Bacon
 greatly below its value, without
 being in danger of exposure: but
 those who want to *raise the wind*,
 find a great facility in getting up
 Cheese from the Country, which,
 as it bears no *mark* whereby it can
 be traced, can be sold under prime
 cost without exposing the seller.—
 Fine Old Cheshire, 74s. to 80s.;
 Middling, 62s. to 68s.; New, 56s.
 to 64s.—Double Gloucester, 56s. to
 62s.; Single, 46s. to 56s.

Price of Bread.—The price of
 the 4lb. Loaf is stated at from 7d.
 to 9d.

SMITHFIELD, Monday, Nov. 17.

Per Stone of 8 pounds (alive).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	2	10	to	3 10
Mutton.....	3	6	—	4 0
Veal	4	0	—	5 0
Pork.....	3	0	—	4 8
Beasts ...	3,238		Sheep ...	20,870
Calves	180		Pigs	240

NEWGATE (same day).

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	1	8	to	2 8
Mutton.....	2	8	—	3 4
Veal	3	0	—	5 0
Pork.....	3	4	—	5 2

LEADENHALL (same day).

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	2	0	to	3 0
Mutton.....	2	8	—	3 4
Veal	3	4	—	5 0
Pork.....	3	4	—	5 0

POTATOES.

SPITALFIELDS.—*per Ton.*

Ware	£ 2	5	to	£ 3 15
Middlings.....	2	0	—	2 0
Chats.....	1	15	—	0 0
Common Red..	2	10	—	2 15
Onions..	2s. 0d.	—	0s. 0d.	per bush.

BOROUGH.—*per Ton.*

Ware.....	£ 2	5	to	£ 3 10
Middlings.....	1	10	—	2 0
Chats.....	1	10	—	0 0
Common Red..	0	0	—	0 0
Onions..	0s. 0d.	—	0s. 0d.	per bush.

HAY and STRAW, per Load.

<i>Smithfield.</i>	Hay ..	80s. to 115s.
	Straw...	36s. to 42s.
	Clover	100s. to 126s.
<i>St. James's.</i>	Hay....	63s. to 110s.
	Straw...	30s. to 45s.
	Clover..	76s. to 126s.
<i>Whitechapel.</i>	Hay....	84s. to 120s.
	Straw...	36s. to 45s.
	Clover	100s. to 135s.

Price of HOPS, per Cwt. in the Borough.

Monday, Nov. 17.—New Hops remain as per last quotation: Old ones more in demand, particularly 1821 and 1822.—1821 bags, 80s. to 100s., pockets, 95s. to 120s.; 1822 bags, 120s. to 130s., pockets, 130s. to 160s.

Maidstone, Nov. 13.—Our Hop market remains in the same dull state as last week; in fact, there is hardly a sale made, although the Planters are offering at much lower prices.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY REGISTER.

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AMERICAN TREES.

Kensington, November 27th, 1823.

THIS seems an odd sort of title for the first article in a Political Register. But, it is just as suitable to a political register as many things which we read in Kings' Speeches are suitable to those speeches; and, before I conclude, I should not be at all surprised if I were to show that these Trees, of which I am going to say a pretty deal, have something to do with *politics*; nay, and even with *war*! The reader will be curious to see how I can twist in the trees to have something to do with matters apparently so foreign to all vegetable nations; but I verily believe I shall gratify that curiosity.

The trees of which I have first to speak, however, have a less sublime destiny; being trees merely for the bearing of apples. I have several times mentioned, in the Register, that I have a few hundreds of these for *sale*. It is now time to take them up, though any time between this and March may do very well. The price of these Apple-trees is, a crown a tree for any number of trees under twenty; and for twenty or any number over, four shillings a tree. There are Eight sorts of them, and the following is the description of the apples. I put these numbers, from one to eight, upon the grafts, which I sold last Spring. I keep and shall keep to the use of these numbers. I shall let no tree go away without a number tied on to it. When application is made for any of the trees, it

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will be sufficient to mention the number or numbers, without saying anything about the name. The list of them is as follows :

1. **DOMINA.** A middle-sized apple, deep red colour, a little flat shaped at the ends, very full of juice and good flavour, and keeps for a whole year if necessary.

2. **MATCHLESS.** Of a lemon-colour, large, clear skinned, rather pointed at the blossom end, very fine flavour, but does not keep longer than Christmas.

3. **VANDEVERE.** Middle size, red skin, flesh deep yellow, form that of an orange, keeps till March very well.

4. **SPITZENBERG.** Middle size, bright red skin, inside tinged with pink, of a tartish flavour, excellent for pies, keeps till April.

5. **GOLDING.** Large size, rich yellow colour, very fine flavour, and keeps well till April.

6. **RHODE ISLAND GREENING.** Large size, heavy, close texture, green skin, yellow flesh, very fine flavour, and keeps well till March.

7. **FALL-PIPPIN.** Large size, sometimes weighs a pound, yellowish skin, yellow flesh, very fine flavour, and keeps till Christmas.

8. **NEWTOWN PIPPIN.** Large as the last, greenish mottled skin, yellow flesh, very fine flavour, and keeps well to the end of March.

I have frequently stated that the Trees which I now offer for sale are the growth of grafts, put upon stocks in the month of April last, at Kensington, the scions, or cuttings or grafts, having been brought from America, in which country they were cut from the trees on the 16th of December last, or before that day. When I was advertising these Grafts for sale, many persons said that it was impossible that they should grow. I was positive that they would, though many of them were not so big round as the barrel of a quill from a pigeon's wing. They have grown exceedingly well with every gentleman who has tried them ; that is to say, as far as I have

heard any thing of them ; and I have actually heard from upwards of fourscore gentlemen.

At the time when I was selling these grafts, I perceived that there were some of them that had *blossom-buds* on them ; and I gave it as my opinion, that some of these might, *possibly, bear apples this very year*. Nobody appeared to believe this possible. To bring a cutting from America ; to keep it cut off the tree for *more than four months* ; and after that to make it become a tree : this appeared sufficiently wonderful : what, then, were people to think of *importing a blossom from America* ; that blossom actually formed in America ; the germ of the fruit formed completely ; all the leaves and folds of the blossom ready formed, and having nothing to do but to burst out ; who was to believe, that this could be imported from America ; be four months and a half off the tree ; and be made to produce fruit after all ; and to *bring that fruit to perfection, too* ! Yet, this has been done. I had

in my plat of trees (when I say trees, I mean grafts put upon stocks within two or three inches of the ground—my plat is hardly ten rod of ground)—In this plat I had, I should think, twenty grafts, each of which produced apples or an apple to be the size of a hazelnut. Only one of them, however, came to perfection. This was a Fall Pippin, which was gathered (rather prematurely, considering the backwardness of the season) on the 29th October ; and it weighed more than seven ounces, immediately after being gathered. This apple is now at Fleet-street, for the satisfaction of any gentleman that may wish to see it. Mr. POINTEZ, market-gardener at Fulham, who had some of the scions, had two Newtown Pippins upon one graft ; but his stock was weak and sickly, and the fruit did not get to any thing like the usual size of that apple. I have one Newtown Pippin, brought to perfection, as to ripeness, from a scion imported last Spring ; but, being put upon a tree of considerable

height, and upon a *lower limb* of the tree, the apple did not attain nearly the full size of its kind; and it weighs little more than three ounces.

There is, perhaps, no real utility in thus producing fruit from cuttings imported from abroad and put upon stocks within the year; but the thing is curious; and it is, also, useful, as it shows in how very excellent a state cuttings may be imported from America or from any other country. I think, also, that the producing of these apples in the manner just described, greatly strengthens an opinion which I have often expressed; namely, that the bearing of fruit trees depends, in a great measure, upon the *ripening of the wood*. The blossom, and all the bearing qualities are given to the wood the summer before the fruit comes. You may have plenty of blossom from unripened buds; but it appears to me that the quantity of fruit will be in proportion to the ripening of the buds and of the wood. Many of the cuttings which

came from America last Spring were not bigger round than the barrel of the quill of a pigeon. Some of them, when put upon the stocks, were not an inch long above the clay; and yet, many of these have, in my garden, assumed the shape of trees, nearly or quite five feet high, while the part which was, even in the middle of June, little bigger than a pigeon's quill, is now the better part of an inch through, and of course nearly three inches in circumference. It will be borne in mind, that the Fall Pippin, above spoken of, brought to perfection and weighing more than *seven ounces*, grew upon one of these little cuttings. Yet, besides bringing that apple to perfection, the cutting has produced a tree, three feet five inches high, and not much short of three inches round at the stem.

Here are facts much more than enough to convince any reflecting person, that, in importing American cuttings, we import the *quality of bearing*, as well as the sorts of fruit. I by no means suppose that

this bearing quality will not pass away, if you graft from cuttings produced in this climate of feeble sun; but I am of opinion that the bearing quality of the original cutting will continue, for some years, at least, to adhere to all the wood *that remains attached to it*; and, of course, I think, that we may most profitably renovate our orchards by importations of Cuttings.

Nothing can tend more strongly to support this opinion, than the state of the trees in my garden at Kensington. I have had the garden in my possession but *thirty-one months*. I got some grafts from America just about *thirty* months ago; that is to say, in May 1821. And, I have this year (one of the worst years), had grow, in this garden, and from those grafts, the finest collection of apples (proportioned to the number), that I ever saw produced in England. Besides, the Fall Pippin which grew upon the this year's graft, I had five of the same sort of apple, produced from a graft, imported in 1821.

I quoted the other day, the following sentence from my Year's Residence in America. "Oct. 7, —The wind is knocking down the *Fall Pippins* for us. One "picked up to-day weighed twelve "and a quarter ounces Avoirdupois. The average weight is "nine ounces, or, perhaps, *ten ounces*." It is truly curious, that, of my five apples before mentioned, one should weigh *eight* ounces, three *nine* ounces each, and one *nine ounces and a half*. I have often said, and I can say it always with safety, that my Year's Residence is the only book, which has given a true account of the United States. It is really curious, that I should have actually produced at Kensington, apples to *show* that what I said in my Year's Residence relative to these kind of apples was true. The HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY sent to New York for some of the cuttings of this apple, and their correspondent, when he applied to me for the cuttings, told me (indeed he showed me the letter),

that the gentlemen of that Society had made the application, in consequence of having read the description which I, in my Year's Residence, had given of the Fall Pippin. They received some cuttings in the year 1819; and this year, in order to show them, that the Year's Residence had given them a true account of this apple, I have sent them two of the apples produced at Kensington, each of them weighing *nine* ounces.

I have but three Newtown Pippins this year, and but two Greenings, both were on very weak wood; but the Newtown Pippins exceed in weight six ounces each. The Greenings are rather smaller; but very fair fruit. The other American apples which I have are of sorts not so highly esteemed in general; but they are very fine; and there is not one of them, which is at all spotted or cankered. I am greatly afraid of the effects of the late cold and miserable Summer; but, wood more promising than that of my trees, I do not recollect ever to have seen.

It is really beautiful to behold, so clean it is, and so thickly set with blossom buds.

The Trees which I have to sell now will, if properly planted out, and in suitable ground, and treated in a proper manner, produce abundance of fruit in a very short time. For my part, I like *espaliers*, however unfashionable they may have become; and there are very few of these trees from which I would not have a good lot of apples in three years' time. I would have some next year even, from some of these trees: and something worth gathering I would have the year after next. There are many of them which have blossom spurs on this year's wood; a thing very rarely seen.

I have some trees which were grafted the Spring before last. The history of them is curious. The stocks were got from Bagshot in the Fall of 1821; they were grafted upon in the Spring of 1822. They were dug up in the *first week of last May*. They were cut off to within three

inches of the root; all the fibres were cut off, and in most cases, the stem of the root shortened to two or three inches; so that many of them were not above seven inches, or at the most eight or nine inches long, root and all, when they were thus transplanted on the last day of April, or some day just then about. They were such little things, that they were planted along a trench, as the seedling larches or firs are transplanted in the nurseries; only at wider distances. *These are now the very finest young fruit trees that I ever saw in my life.* From the short head that was left them, they have thrown out two or three shoots each. Many of these shoots are from three to four feet long; many of them have fruit spurs; and the cleanness, strength, and beauty of them, have made them the "envy of surrounding nurseries and the admiration of all gardeners;" of all gardeners who have seen them, at least. I would sell them, as well as the others; and they would be expellent to put

against walls, or to form into espaliers immediately; because, as every one must see, the roots are all short and new; they have already begun to form limbs, a foot of which might be left to bear fruit the year after next; and then the root is so sure to be adequate to the support of the tree, and to the sending out of fine wood next Summer: in short, they are one year in advance of the others. I would, as I said before, sell these as well as the rest, all but those which I want for my own use; but there was a misfortune which happened to them: in their removal, my men, who are of the smek-frock description, did not conceive that it could be of any consequence, whether a parcel of little twigs were kept separate, or carried in great bundles, *mixed them altogether.* When they were in full leaf I could pretty nearly tell the one sort from the other; and I marked a good many of them. However, I cannot be certain as to the sorts; and, therefore, whoever chooses to have

these must run a little risk as to the sort. They are chiefly of the three finest sorts, numbers six, seven, and eight. With this caution I offer these two yearling trees for sale, as well as the rest; and, on account of the uncertainty, at the *same price*. These trees, which have had a *removal*, observe, would, if properly managed, as wall trees, or as espaliers with a good aspect, and without any vagabond potatoes, or other rubbish about the roots of them, produce quantities of fine fruit in a short time: it being always an understood condition, that the owner of the tree knows *something* about the planting of the tree, and that he will just take the pains to read, in my Gardening Book, the paragraphs from 284 to 289 both inclusive; and also paragraphs 16 to 27 inclusive of the same book. The reading will not cost him more than ten minutes; and without knowledge, something like that contained in those paragraphs, any man would do better to fling his money upon the highway,

than lay it out in purchasing trees. The trees can be sent to any part of the kingdom. Those who wish to have any, will please to direct their letters to Fleet-street, No. 183.

FOREST TREES.

I have American Forest Trees, as follows, which I number, in continuation of the above numbers, in order to save writing:

9. Black Walnut,
10. Hickory, or as the Americans sometimes call it, White Walnut.
11. Sweet Chesnut.
12. The Black Oak.
13. Red Oak.
14. Gum Tree.
15. Persimon Tree.
16. Occidental Plane.
17. Tulip Tree.
18. Wild Cherry.
19. Catalpa.
20. Althea Frutex.

These are all *seedlings*; and the Occidental Plane and the Althea Frutex are, perhaps, the only plants of the kind, now in

England, that have been raised from the seed. No. 12, is the *Quercus Citron*, about which Dr. BANCROFT has written so much. The *Catalpa* and the *Althea Frutex* are shrubs; but, when raised from the seed they grow to a considerable height, and are very beautiful trees. The Chestnut of America is a much finer tree than that of Spain. It grows straighter; much more spiral; it grows faster; and the timber is excellent. If I were to plant, I would plant some of all these trees. All of them, except the *Catalpa* and *Althea Frutex*, are timber trees; all beautiful trees; and the timber of all of them good; and of some of them of very superior quality.

As I said before, these are all seedlings; and I propose to sell them, all at one price; namely: ten shillings a hundred, if less than ten hundred; and three pounds ten shillings a thousand. If there be a certain number of such so as to make up a thousand, I intend to sell such thousand at

the same price as if it were of one sort of tree. The Black Walnut is so called, not on account of the colour of its fruit, but of its wood, which is of the colour, when sawed into boards, of dark mahogany. It is not so handsome as mahogany, it approaches more towards a black, but is of a duller cast. The tree grows faster than our walnut. It is also a handsomer tree, though ours is very handsome. I have not time now for a dissertation on all these trees. They are all useful: some of them highly valuable; and as to their beauty, I have never looked at an American wood, at any season of the year when the leaves were on, without having a most anxious desire to cause such woods to be seen in England. There are none of these trees, if we except the *Catalpa* and the *Althea Frutex*, and, perhaps, the Persimon, that would not grow and thrive, if well planted, in almost any part of England. When I consider how many thousands of Englishmen, and English-

men having ample means too, have seen the woods of America in all seasons of the year, it appears to me most wonderful that there never yet should have been one single clump of different oaks, of Black Walnut, of Hickory, of the Wild Cherry, of the Tulip Tree, of the Chestnut, and, above all things, of the Gum Tree; not one single clump of these trees to be seen in England, when so many millions have been expended in plantations for the mere purpose of decoration. A good large clump of these trees would, in the month of October, be a sight worth going a hundred miles to behold. We have, indeed, the Occidental Plane, but never from the seed. The Tulip Tree, also, but not from the seed; and if they come not from the seed, they never are handsome, nor are they lofty, as when they come from the seed. The Tulip Tree will go to more than a hundred feet high, with a shaft as straight as a gun-stick. The Occidental Plane will go to the same height; and

it is the very largest tree that grows in America. If I were now writing on the qualities of these trees, I should have to observe, that the Occidental Plane furnishes wood for the making of blocks, used in the rigging of ships. The leaves of the above collection of trees, present a beautiful variety of colours, from the deep blood red of the Gum Tree to the very pale yellow, or rather cream colour, of the Tulip Tree. At the time that one of these trees is blood red, and the other cream coloured, the Walnut is of a pale yellow, the Hickory the colour of gold, of the yellowest cast, and the oaks are of two reds, very different from each other; and both of them of a red much less deep than that of the Gum Tree.

However, in point of utility: as a matter of general and even national importance, the *White Oak* and the *Locust* are the two trees that merit our attention. Of the *White Oak* I have no plants; or, at least, so few as not to be worth offering for sale. I have requested

my correspondent to send me a good quantity of the acorns of this tree; and when they come I shall, if I find them perfectly good and sound, offer them for sale by the gallon, seeing that I am quite uncertain as to my means of sowing any quantity myself, my lease at this place being out next Autumn. It is possible that I may sow some of them myself; and if I have room I certainly shall. Of the Locusts I have a pretty considerable number of plants. I should suppose that I have a hundred thousand, twenty thousand of which are, however, engaged. I shall divide the Locusts into three sizes: the first size, from two to three feet high, twenty shillings a hundred; second size, from a foot and half to two feet, fifteen shillings a hundred; and the third size, from nine inches to a foot and a half, ten shillings a hundred; if a thousand of the first, eighteen shillings a hundred; if a thousand of the second, thirteen shillings a hundred; if a thousand of the third, eight shillings a hundred. If ten

thousand, or any quantity above ten thousand, sixteen shillings a hundred for the first; eleven shillings for the second; and six and sixpence a hundred for the third. The reader must now indulge me in a little talk about these two sorts of trees, the White Oak and the Locust. The former produces the timber which is used in making all the parts of wagons and carts, except the stocks of the wheels and the axletrees, when of wood, and these are made of Locust. The spokes, the felleys, the raves, the shafts; in short, the whole wagon, except the stocks and the axletrees are made of White Oak. Coaches are made of the same materials, except the panels of close coaches; and these are generally made of Talip Tree. All harrows, drags, ploughs and other implements of husbandry, are made of White Oak. It is very little heavier than the Ash, four or five times as strong, perhaps, in proportion to its size; often times the durability; and the tree is of much free growth, and much

more clear of knots. I imported a piece of White Oak last year; a part of a tree. It is not yet sawed up; any gentleman may look at it at Kensington; and I can assure the reader that trees just as handsome are to be found in almost every wood in America. Owing to the great strength of these woods, the White Oak and the Locust, a wagon or a cart in America, is quite a different thing from what it is here. Englishmen are, when they first go to America, astonished to see such enormous loads put upon carriages which appear to them so slender. The difference between the strength of iron, of Swedish iron, too, and that of Locust and White Oak (in proportion to the size of the two), is not greater, if it be so great, as the difference between the strength of Locust and White Oak, and of the wood of which English wagons and carts are made. A Pennsylvania wagon is loaded with barrels full of fine flour, at three hundred or four hundred miles westward of Philadelphia. It carries from three to four ton weight. It comes over rocks and along roads upon which an Englishman would not believe it possible for an empty wagon to go. It has two horses abreast next the wagon with a pole between them; two horses abreast before them; and one horse in front. The left hand pole horse has a saddle on him. This horse the driver occasionally rides; and, with this enormous load, you see it rattling down hills and over rocks at a full trot. These wagons last *for many years*; and I venture to say, that a wagon of the same size; timbers of the same size; carrying the same load; going the same pace and upon the same roads, and made of the ordinary English materials, would be knocked to pieces; would be broken down, at least, before it had performed a tenth part of one single journey.

Perhaps nothing of the kind was ever seen in the world so worthy of admiration as every thing belonging to those Pennsylv-

vania wagons. They have a tilt over them, neatly put upon hoops of hickory wood, as slender as whalebone would be, and as tough, if not tougher. A manger for the horses is hung at the tail of the wagon. The wagon carries the provender for man and horse. In summer time the man, wrapped in his blanket, sleeps in the wagon. In winter time wrapped in his blanket, he sleeps upon the floor of the tavern where he halts, with his feet to the fire, and his head upon a log of wood. And, as to the *horses*, never do they, in these their journeys, be it summer, be it winter, be it fair, be it foul, see the inside of a stable or feel covering of any sort. Five hundred of these wagons, and five times five hundred horses may be seen, in the high street of Philadelphia at one and the same moment.

The men are taking out their flour or taking in loads to carry back; and you see the horses feeding at the tail of the wagon, or lying about in the dirt, in the snow, or the dust. Many thousands of

these horses have I seen, and I do not recollect that I ever saw a poor one in my life. These wagons sometimes bring into the city in one day, produce enough to load several ships. A common farm wagon in England, that has only to move about the farm and along the turnpike roads, is, on account of the *feebleness of the wood*, obliged to be made so *clumsy*, as to weigh, upon an average, a ton and a half. I am satisfied that the Pennsylvania wagons, of which I have been speaking, do not weigh *a ton*; though they carry more than double what is deemed a load for an English wagon; and carry it over roads, too, which would, in the course of a hundred miles, break to pieces an unloaded English wagon, though it might be new from the shop.

Of what vast importance, then, are these woods! Had the Americans no wood other than our Elm, Ash and Beech, how enormous must be the expense of carrying their flour four hundred miles!

In Long Island you see a wagon, carrying a couple of ton burden, that does not itself weigh more than from six to eight hundred weight. I had a little wagon, I frequently carried seven, eight, or nine hundred weight upon it. I once carried over a very rough road, and to a considerable distance, nearly twelve hundred weight upon it; I never did it any injury, and left it good when I came away. The stock of the wheel of this wagon was very little bigger than a three-pint wooden bottle. The face of the felly; that is to say, the exterior of the circumference of the wheel, was barely an *inch and a quarter* wide. What little things the *spokes* must have been, I leave the reader to guess. The shafts were barely *three quarters of an inch* thick. An evening or two before I left New York, Messrs. George and Thomas WOODWARD (two worthy Englishmen now residing at New York), were talking with me upon this subject. They took the above measurements, and

they, also, weighed the whole wagon. In my memorandum book, or journal, under date of Wednesday, 27th October, 1819. I have these words: "Messrs. Woodward have weighed the little wagon, and it weighs *two hundred and four pounds*. They say that an English Mail Coach of half the present weight of those coaches, would carry as much as the present coaches carry, and would last four times as long, if made of Locust and White Oak."

These Messrs. WOODWARDS are very clever mechanics; and excellent judges of such matters. Their father was a considerable farmer in Warwickshire. Nobody can understand such matters better than they. I see I have this memorandum from them also. "The Pennsylvania wagons, which come from the other side of the Alleghany to Philadelphia, and are dragged along ever some of the worst roads in the world, carry about twice the weight of an English farm

"wagon. They weigh about
 "half as much as an English
 "farm wagon. They have sel-
 "dom more than a two and a half
 "inch felleys." These wagons,
 then, performing service like this,
 have wheels only just about the
 size of an English *Post-chaise*
wheel!

"A one horse chair was sold
 "this year (1819), amongst the
 "effects of the late Mr. James
 "Paul, of Bustleton. The shafts
 "were of white oak, and also the
 "body, the carriage, the spokes
 "and the felleys. The stocks
 "were of locust, and the axletree
 "was of iron. The chair, when
 "sold, was *sixty-five years* old.
 "It had been in use all the time.
 "I myself saw it in use and fre-
 "quently rode in it, twenty-one
 "years before it was sold. No
 "part of the wood work *had*
 "*ever been renewed*, except the
 "felleys, which had been twice
 "renewed. The parts of the
 "shafts, which had been *rubbed*
 "*by the breeching straps*, were not
 "half an inch thick: yet they

"were strong enough still; and
 "the chair was in use until the
 "time when it was sold. But,
 "indeed, its having been sold at
 "all, at the end of sixty-five
 "years, is quite enough." I find
 this in my memorandum book of
 the same date. The information as
 to the state of the one horse chair
 when sold, I got from Mr. John
 Morgan of Philadelphia. If an
 American were to read this, he
 would laugh at my appealing to
 witnesses; but notorious as such
 facts are, in America, they are not
 more notorious in America than
 they are wonderful here.

As an instance of the toughness
 of the White Oak, I need only men-
 tion the fact, that it is made use of
 in America for numerous of the
 purposes to which we apply *whale-*
bone. Whip-handles are made
 of it, and also fishing-rods. The
 long whips that carters use, in-
 stead of being whalebone covered
 with leather or tarred thread, are
 white oak covered in that manner.
 I had a whip, the handle of which
 was about four feet long. When

I was driving, the thong was sometimes caught between the stock and the axletree of the wheel. My seat was so low, that I could reach my hand down nearly to the stock. I have many times held the handle firmly at the end, and let the wheel go on, and twist the whole of the handle round the stock, till the twist came within an inch or two of my hand. Letting it go, it soon got loose; and then I would take it off. It was then in the state of hoop, only twisted two or three times round. When I straightened it out again, it was just as good as ever. This handle lasted me all the time I was in Long Island, and wore out five or six thongs.

I am not speaking of *young trees of this sort of wood*, cut for whip-handles, as we cut holly-sticks in England. I am talking of a piece of wood sawed out of a plank and planed down to the size of a whip-handle or a fishing-rod. I have got a piece of a white oak tree at Kensington that contains, I believe, pretty nearly a *load of*

timber. It has not a single knot in it. This might all be turned into whip-handles or fishing-rods. Every man at all acquainted with rural affairs must see what a benefit it would be to this kingdom to have an abundance of timber like this. Nothing more is necessary than to be able to maintain this proposition: that a wagon, made of locust and white oak, would carry twice as much as an English farm wagon, would last four or five times as long; and would be of half the weight. Nothing more than this is necessary to convince any rational man of the immense benefit, to any country, of possessing this kind of timber.

As I said before, I have scarcely any plants of this sort; but shall have, I believe, a pretty good quantity of acorns in a month or two's time; and I think that to raise from the acorn may, in most cases, be the safest way; and, certainly, the least expensive.

I have now to speak of the LOCUST. I have observed on the part which it takes in furnish-

ing materials for wagons, carts, coaches and the like ; but, trifling indeed are these uses to those other numerous and important ones, to which the timber of this beautiful tree is applied. I shall first speak of the qualities of the wood ; then of some of the purposes to which it is put ; and then I shall speak of the cultivation of the tree, and of the time required to bring it to perfection.

The wood is very hard and close and heavy ; it is yellow, almost as box ; as hard as box, but the grain not so fine. The *durability of this wood*, is such, that *no man in America will pretend to say, that he ever saw a bit of it in a decayed state*. This seems hyperbolical ; but every American of experience in country affairs, will, if appealed to, confirm what I say. It is absolutely indistructible by the powers of earth, air and water. Its strength far surpasses that of the very best of our Spine Oak. It is to this timber that the American ships owe a great part of their notorious supe-

riority to ours. The stantions round the deck are made of Locust ; and, while nothing like the bulk of stantions of Oak, will resist a sea three times as heavy as the Oak will. The tiller of the ship is made of Locust, because it demands great strength and is required not to be bulky. For the same reason the martingales of ships are made of Locust. The Locust is rather a rare timber in America ; but sometimes the *futtocks*, or *ribs* of ships, are made of Locust ; and if a ship had all its ribs, and beams, and knees of Locust, it would be *worth two common ships*. Further, as to ship-building, that important article, the TRUNNELS, when they consist of Locust, make the ship last, probably twice as long, as if the trunnels consisted of Oak. Our Admiralty know this very well, or at least they ought to know it. These trunnels are the *pins*, of which so many are used to hold the side planks on to the timbers of the ship. Trunnels is said to be a corruption from tree-nails ; but I

do not believe it. However, we know what these things are: we know that they are an article of the very first importance in ship-building: we know that the *hardest of our spine oak* is picked out for the purpose; and with all that, we know that the trunnel is the thing that rots first; for the water, or at least the damp, will get in round the trunnel, and between it and the plank; and if water or damp hang about oak, the oak *will rot*. All the American public ships are built with locust trunnels; and so are all the merchant ships of the first character.

Some of our own public ships have, I fancy, locust trunnels brought from America; and I have been informed, that when Cropper, Benson, and Co. of Liverpool (my friend Cropper) built their East Indiamen, they imported the Locust trunnels and some other of the timbers from New York. We have a monstrous deal to do in many respects to make our navy (gun for gun) a match for that of the United

States; but if we had accomplished every other point, there would still remain want of timber; unless we supplied ourselves with the Locust, at the least. The Hickory we should want for hand-spikes for mast-hoops, and other hoops to go round the yards and stays. Various other things would be wanted to make our ships as light and as roomy as those of the Americans, and with the same degree of strength; but without the locust it is impossible to match them.

But, important as these matters are, these are, by no means to be compared to the various uses about *buildings* and fences. I have said that this wood is indurctible by the elements, except that of fire. How many thousands of houses are rendered useless in England, every year, by that thing which they call the dry rot, proceeding solely from those villanous soft woods, which impatient people take such delight in planting, and which carpenters of delicate constitution take such

delight in sawing and planing! English Spine Oak is stronger than Deal; and if you keep it dry it will not rot; but let it lie in the wet, or damp, and let the air get at it at the same time, and no villanous deal-board will turn to earth more quickly. Window sills of the best of oak will rot, if something be not done to keep away the wet from getting under them; and, in this very way the dry rot has got into many a house. Oak door sills are rotten in a very short time. The ends of beams and of joists, if they rest upon brick or stone where the moisture is constantly about them, rot in a few years. The points of rafters, and the pins which hold rafters together, are always rotting. If these things were made of Locust, your house would be safe for ages. Every where, when you want something to lie topping in the wet, and at the same time to be exposed to the air, you should have Locust. Endless are the uses to which it might be put. A bottle-rack, for in-

stance, that you want to stand out of doors and hidden in some corner, a grind-stone stand, a horse-block; but particularly a cart-house, or any thing that requires *pillars*, the *bottoms* of which are to go *into the ground*. Go to any farm-yard in England. I do not care what farm-yard it is; and you shall find, in the cart-house, one of these things: first, the posts that support the buildings, rotting off very fast, just where they meet the ground: second, those posts rotted off and out off, and some stones put under them, to the manifest risk of the cart-house: third, the cart-house actually tumbling down in consequence of the rotting off of the posts. This is notorious, every farmer, every landlord in the kingdom knows it. Now, take another note from my memorandum-book, under date of October 15, 1818.

" At Judge Lawrence's, at Bay-side, I saw a new cider-house, built against a hill, the upper story of it supported in front by some locust posts. These posts,

"the Judge told me, had stood for
 "forty years, or rather better, as
 "the posts of a *cart-shed*." They
 were as sound as they had been
 the first year they were cut down.
 In our stables in England, you
 see stones put at the bottom of
 the stall posts. What a plague it
 is! Little locust trees, only about
 seven years old, would, for these
 purposes, make posts that would
 last for ever. Every one knows
 how the *sleepers* (as I think they
 call it) rots; that is to say, the
 piece of wood that goes along
 at the bottom of each side of
 the stall. We know, also, how
 the manger posts rot off at the
 ground. Use locust timber, and
 it will wear out the stone walls
 of the building.

I should fatigue the reader were
 I to enumerate only a tenth part
 of the uses of this timber; but, in
 short, if the timber be *imperish-*
able, what need of any thing more
 in its praise. Will, however,
 English people *believe* in this im-
perishability? I would not believe
 in such a thing, if no *proof* were

produced; and, therefore, I will
 now proceed to proof of the truth
 of what I have stated. The test
 of imperishability is the situation
 of a *post* or *sill*, being exposed
 to air and water; or, rather, it
 being so situated as to *lie sopping*
in the wet. I was led, by circum-
 stances to be stated by-and-by,
 to entertain, while I was last in
 America, an anxious desire to in-
 troduce this valuable tree into
 England. After I had resolved
 to return in 1819, I set myself to
 work to get some seed together,
 which I found to be no easy mat-
 ter; for the locust tree is by no
 means abundant in any part of
 America where I have been; but,
 how to go to work to persuade
 English people, that a little tree,
 chopped down, and put into the
 ground as a gate post or pale post,
 would stand there for a hundred
 years without rotting at all! How
 to persuade English people to be-
 lieve this; and to believe, of course,
 that there was a timber about a
 hundred times as good as their
 heart of oak! You shall hear how

I went to work to endeavour to effect this.

In the latter end of August, in the year just spoken of, I was at Plandome, the farm and residence of Mr. JUDGE MITCHELL, in Long Island. He was building a new house on the spot where had stood the house of his grandfather. There had been a little sort of lawn before the door, enclosed by a pale fence. The fence had all been pulled up, and there it lay, posts and rails and pales. I asked the Judge how long the posts had been in the ground. He said *eight and twenty years*. Each post had been a little tree, just chopped down, sawed off to the proper length and squared, and each containing about *half a foot of timber*. They were all as sound as they had been the first day that they were cut down; and even the little sharp edges left by the *axe-chops*, at the part where the square part met with the unsquared part: even the little *axe-chops* were sound. The Americans use what they call *stakes*,

to hold on the top rail of what they call a worm-fence. These are generally made of little limbs of trees, about eight feet long, and about the bigness of a hope-pole. I saw many of these at JUDGE MITCHELL's on that day, which he assured me had been standing as stakes for upwards of *thirty years*. I hinted to the men of Kent that I would teach them how to make everlasting hop-poles; and this is a duty that I particularly owe to my native town of Farnham, so famous for hops.

On the 25th of Oct. of the same year, 1819, I was in company with Doctor PETER TOWNSEND, at Mr. JUDGE LAWRENCE's at Bayside, in the Township of Flushing, Long Island. I was talking to them about this Locust-tree project; and here I cannot refrain from making an observation which I have more than once made in my *Year's Residence*; namely, that, say what they will of the selfishness of Jonathan, I say that he is the most truly liberal of all mankind. At home he

never grudges his neighbour his good fortune; he is always made happy by his neighbour's success and prosperity: and, as to foreign nations, he is always anxious that they should possess all the products, all the inventions, all the improvements that he himself enjoys. In conformity with this most amiable disposition, my excellent friends at Bayside, entered into my views, about introducing the Locust into England. The Judge showed me a post, which he said, must be nearly a hundred years old as a post. This post had been cut down, when a little tree, and it had served in the capacity of, what they call, a hog-gallows post. I examined it very minutely, and I found it perfectly sound, even to the very tips of it. It was a post with a fork at the top of it. The points of the fork had been chopped off in a careless manner; and there were these points perfectly sound. But, the main question was, how was the post *where it met the ground*? It was just as sound there as it

was in any other part. It had stood in a gutter, observe, for all these number of years. The water thrown to wash out the hogs had run down the gutter, and had soaked down about the post. The numerous sweepings and shovellings of the gutter to take away the blood and the mud, had worn away the post a little, as they would have worn away iron; but still it was as sound as on the day when it was felled.

JUDGE MITCHELL was so kind as to give me a memorandum, signed by himself, relative to his post; and JUDGE LAWRENCE, not being so old as his brother HENRY, we sent for the latter, and he signed a memorandum, relative to the hog-gallows post. I dare say that every reader, who delights in rural concerns, and who duly considers the vast importance of this matter, will lament that he, also, could not see these posts. If he happen to be in London, HE MAY SEE THEM NOW; for they are to be seen by any body at the Office of the

Register in Fleet Street. The Manchester Magistrates brought out horse and foot to prevent me from passing through their town. The Bolton Magistrates put John Hayes in prison, for ten weeks, for announcing that I had arrived at Liverpool in good health. But my Locust posts came safely to London, and I came soon after them with the following memorandums in my pocket.

Plandome, 23 August, 1819.

I HAVE this day given to William Cobbett a locust post 6 feet long, and squaring 3 inches by $3\frac{1}{4}$, which is perfectly sound in all its parts, and which has stood in the ground, as part of a fence, in front of my house, from the year 1791 until about five weeks ago, when the fence was taken up.

SINGLETON MITCHELL.

Bayside, Flushing, 23 Oct. 1819.

MY brother, EFFINGHAM LAWRENCE, has this day taken up out of the ground, and given to WILLIAM COBBETT, a hog-gallows post; that is, a post having a fork at the top, for the purpose of lodging a pole on, and on which pole hogs are, when killed, hanged up by the heels. This post is of LOCUST WOOD; it was a single tree, and the whole of the lower part of that tree; it is, from extreme point to extreme point, eight feet eight inches long; from the tip of one fork to that of the other, from outside to outside, it is seventeen and a half inches; there is a knot, the middle of which is 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches from the end of the butt; there is another knot eleven inches from the middle of the fork; the circumference of the post, at the mid-distance from the ends, is eighteen

inches.—I have known this post standing as a hog-gallows post during *forty-four years*. When I first knew it, it was a very old post. I remember hearing my father say, that it was a *wonderfully old* post then. I should suppose it to have been a post upwards of *fourscore years*.
HENRY LAWRENCE.

I have before mentioned, that DOCTOR TOWNSEND was with us at Bayside. The Doctor was acquainted with a Mr. SMITH, of Smith's Town in Long Island, and he had heard that there was a locust post at Smith's Town, which could be proved, by unquestionable testimony, to have stood, without injury, for upwards of a hundred years. I begged of the Doctor to get me proof of this, and to send it to me to England. This he did, very punctually, as will appear from the following documents.

TO DR. PETER TOWNSEND.

*Smith's Town, Long Island,
25 Feb. 1820.*

DEAR SIR,—Yesterday morning I received the letter which you mentioned having written me of the 22d, on the subject of the posts, to which I had certified on the evening of that day at the Judge's. I observe by an extract of Mr. Cobbett's letter, quoted by you, that he is desirous of further information, and mentions something of obtaining the post. This memento of antiquity, though not intrinsically worth six cents, I would hardly part with for its weight in silver; but such information as I can give you, is cheerfully at his service.—There are many Locust

posts in my post and rail cross fences, put in by a former proprietor of the farm, who has been dead about twenty-six years; probably some of them have been standing fifty years or upwards, most of which are at this day in a perfectly sound state above and below the surface of the ground.— Since residing on *this farm* (about three years since), I have taken down an old barn which had been repaired by putting in new sills and other parts of its foundation, under, as nearly as I can ascertain, about forty-one or two years ago. One of these sills was of Locust, about eight inches square, which by the inattention of the proprietor had been buried many years under the dirt and filth which invariably collect about such buildings; the foundation timbers had all disappeared, and some of the posts rotted and entirely decayed two or three feet above the base, when I took possession here eleven years ago. In removing the dirt to manure my garden, about two feet below the surface, I came to the Locust sill. While the other timbers had all mouldered down, and some of them so far incorporated with the dirt as scarcely to be distinguished or known from it, the Locust was in so perfect and uninjured a state that I had a *pair of axletrees made from off it for a wagon, which are now doing good service.*—I recollect my father's cutting a quantity of large locust timber for market, some of the limbs of which were converted into posts to put up a board fence near the house. This fence I assisted in making, one side was flatted to receive the board, and the posts set into the ground with the natural bark on for about twenty-eight inches. Fourteen years afterwards, and after my father's decease, in making a new disposition of the ground, I was present when my brother Ebenezer took up these posts. There was very little visible

decay even of the bark, and the wood when stripping the bark off had the appearance of being just felled. Many instances might be given of the durability and usefulness of this very valuable timber. So sensible are we in this quarter of its great worth, that every farmer of common prudence is taking the utmost pains to cultivate it; when and wherever he can.—Should you make any further communications to Mr. Cobbett, I beg you will tender to him my best wishes for the health and happiness of himself and his family. With sentiments of much friendship and esteem,

I am,

Your obedient and

Most humble Servant,

RICHARD SMITH.

CERTIFICATE.

THERE is a Locust post standing on the road side about sixty yards from Smith's Town River, and about one mile from Long Island Sound, into which that river empties, in the Township of Smith's Town, Suffolk County, Long Island, and opposite to my door. This post is a quarter section of a locust trunk which must have been originally about eight inches in diameter. I have been informed by my Uncle, Joshua Smith, father of the present Judge Smith, that this post was placed there by his father, Daniel Smith, grandson of the patentee of Smith's Town, in the year 1709. The soil in which the post stands is a black loam, and about sixteen feet above the surface of the river. It is about two feet in the ground. On examining it about a year since, below the surface of the ground, it was found perfectly and thoroughly sound in every respect. Above the ground there is no appearance of decay or rot, and no disfiguration whatever except what has been caused by friction, or by its long exposure to the weather. And all the effect of these causes has been merely to roughen a

little its surface. This post is along side of a stone horse-block, and was intended and is now used as a support to ascend the block. Within a half yard of this post there is also a flat red cedar post of about four inches thickness, and which belonged to a post, which must have been about twelve inches in diameter. This post, which was set at the same time with the Locust post, is not quite as sound below the surface as that. Above ground it is also more decayed, and shows indications of having yielded more to the influence of the weather than the Locust post in the same part. The top particularly is crumbling.

RICHARD SMITH.

TO MR. COBBETT.

SIR,—At the request of my friend, Doctor Peter S. Townsend, I have given the above Certificate with great pleasure, and hope it may answer the purposes you have in view from it, as I stand pledged to vouch for its accuracy.

With much respect,

I am Sir,

Your most obedient and

Most humble Servant,

RICHARD SMITH.

The fact, then, of the durability, of this wood is here put beyond dispute. If it lasts sound as a post out of doors for more than a hundred years, it may be fairly said to last for ever. If it will make axletrees for a wagon, after having lain as a barn sill in the wet and dirt for forty years, it may be fairly said that it will yield to nothing but fire. This tree has no sap. It is all of the same quality, and Judge LAWRENCE shewed me some with the bark on perfectly

sound, after having stood more than twenty years. It is all spine. It is just as hard when as big round as your wrist, as when it is as big round as your body. Here are *hop-poles*, then! Here is stuff to make *hurdle gates* for sheep folding! Here is stuff for clothes posts and all sorts of uses. A Locust hop-pole, when once pointed, would serve, and that, too, without any more pointing, for *half a century*. At Fleet-street there is one of the stakes, which I mentioned above, and which I brought from the farm of Judge MITCHELL. Whoever looks at this stake will see that it was a mere branch, and a crooked and poor branch too, cut off from a tree; yet it lasted as a stake for *thirty years*, and is now as hard and as solid as it was on the day that it was cut off the tree.

Will any one suppose, that the names that I have made use of here, are not real names. Amongst the wretched calumniators of the day, there may be some to *pretend* to believe this; but no one will believe it. I wish, however, to leave no doubt with regard to a matter, which, as the reader will clearly see, I have long had my heart set upon. I will therefore state, that Mr. SINGLETON MITCHELL is a brother of the really celebrated DOCTOR MITCHELL, of New York, who has written so ably

on natural history, who is famed for his learning, who is a member of most of the learned Societies of Europe, and who is not less renowned for his learning than he is for his goodness. The LAWRENCES are, EFFINGHAM, the uncle, and HENRY, the father, of Messrs. LAWRENCE, merchants at New York, who trade with London and Liverpool. Doctor TOWNSEND is the brother of Mrs. EFFINGHAM LAWRENCE. He was in London last June twelvemonth, and must, doubtless, be known to many of the faculty in London. In short, these are all persons of the first respectability in every sense of that word.

But, now comes the great question: Will these trees grow in England? Will they arrive at a good size in England? And will they arrive at that size, in a reasonable space of time? As to the two first, Yes; simply YES: and, as to the last, they will arrive at a good size even sooner than a *worthless and villanous Scotch fir*.

However, this part of the subject must not be *sturred* over. I must do it justice. I have a new set of proofs, and those most interesting indeed, connected with this part of the subject. In my next I will give an account of actual experiments as to the growth of these trees in England; and

when I have done that, I will send to Fleet-street specimens of this kind of timber grown in England. I will show, that the country would have been worth a hundred millions of pounds sterling more than it now is, if this sort of tree had, during the last forty years, been cultivated instead of the villanous race of firs. I have facts to state upon this subject; facts wholly undeniable, that must interest every man that has got any feeling about him, be he in what situation of life he may.

I have, this morning, measured and weighed the post of Mr. MITCHELL and that of Mr. LAWRENCE. The former, which the reader will observe, is, for the greater part, *squared*, contains nearly about what is called *half a fad of timber*; and it weighs *twenty-eight pounds and a half*, Avordupois. The post of Mr. LAWRENCE, which is round, contains, as nearly as possible, what is called a *foot of timber*; and it weighs *sixty-nine pounds and three quarters*. Here, then, is a foot of timber standing in the capacity of a post out of doors, and in a gutter; standing thus for upwards of four-score years, and weighing *sixty-nine pounds and three quarters* at the end of that time. Mind, too, that it is not a piece of stuff that was cut out of the heart of a tree;

but the whole of a little tree that was put into the ground bark and all; and that was, in all probability, not above seven or eight years old.

In my next I shall give an account of the manner of planting these trees, and shall produce such proof of their wonderful growth in England, that no man can call in question.

WM. COBBETT.

SUBSCRIPTION FOR JOSEPH SWANN.

To my great satisfaction, and to the not less great honour of the People of England, more than three times the sum, which I proposed to raise, has been offered. I have accepted of thirteen pounds fifteen shillings, (I am writing on *Thursday*) which, with the seven pounds taken from the JEWS, make *twenty pounds fifteen shillings*; which, I hope, will carry the poor fellow and his family pretty well through the winter. One gentleman, who has offered the seven pounds, others who have offered one pound a-piece, will please to keep their money and to accept of my thanks. One gentleman, besides all those above mentioned, would insist upon leaving a pound at the Office of the Register. He was told

that I was resolved to receive no more at present on this account.

"Then," said he, "give it to somebody else." I shall, therefore, give it to a poor man, who was one of the victims of the proceedings of 1817. He is in great misery, and the misery has been produced by those proceedings. He is to call upon me one of these days. Probably he will not like to have his name publicly mentioned as the receiver of this pound, which was left at the Office last Monday; and if he do not like to have his name mentioned, I am very sure the gentleman who gave the pound will not require it.—I am afraid that I shall not be able to go to see poor Swann myself. If I be not, a friend at Liverpool will go to him and carry the money in my stead.—Lest I should forget it, I will mention here, that, when the money has been delivered, either SWANN himself, or Mrs. SWANN, will be so good as to write a letter (and send it by post) to Mr. JOHN TEMPLAR, Lynton, Hampshire, to acknowledge the receipt of five pounds, sent by me, and that came from Mr. Templar. I beg that this may not be neglected; because Mr. TEMPLAR, in all likelihood, will like to show this letter to those persons who have sent their contributions through him.

MARKETS.

Average Prices of CORN through-
out ENGLAND, for the week end-
ing 15th November.

	<i>Per Quarter.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Wheat.....	49	8	
Rye	29	2	
Barley	28	7	
Oats	21	1	
Beans	35	8	
Peas	34	6	

Aggregate Average of the six weeks
ended Nov. 15, by which im-
portation is regulated.

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Wheat.....	43	8
Rye	29	3
Barley.....	26	10
Oats.....	20	8
Beans	34	1
Pease	32	5

Corn Exchange, Mark Lane.

Quantities and Prices of British
Corn, &c. sold and delivered in
this Market, during the week ended
Saturday, 15th November.

	<i>Qrs.</i>	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Wheat..	7,419 for 19,929	3	8	Average, 53	8	
Barley..	3,706.... 5,784	19	6	.....	31	2
Oats..	9,853.... 11,793	8	0	.....	23	11
Rye.....	49 .. 75	2	8	.....	30	8
Beans ..	1,574.... 2,869	1	7	.....	36	5
Pease....	1,324.... 2,386	10	11	.....	38	8

Quarters of English Grain, &c.
arrived Coastwise, from Nov. 17
to Nov. 22, inclusive.

Wheat..	7,811	Pease....	2,017
Barley....	8,293	Tares.....	40
Malt.....	5,133	Linseed....	—
Oats.....	11,858	Rape	390
Rye	20	Brank.....	19
Beans...	2,308	Mustard....	12

Various Seeds, 261; Flax, 22;
and Hemp, 25 qrs.—Flour, 10,974
sacks.

Foreign.—Linseed, 2,125 qrs.—
Flour, 600 barrels.

Friday, Nov. 21.—The arrivals
of this week are tolerably good.
Wheat of prime quality alone sup-
ports Monday's terms; other sorts
sell heavily, and are rather cheaper.
Barley is dull, and 1s. per quarter
lower. Beans and Peas have also
become heavy in sale. Good Oats
sell freely, and fully maintain the
quotations of last Monday. In
Flour no alteration.

Monday, Nov. 24.—The quanti-
ties of Corn that came in last week
were considerable, being the largest
supply since harvest. This morn-
ing the parcels fresh in do not
afford much addition to the quanti-
ties left over from last week. It
was only the prime dry samples of
New Wheat that were taken off by
our Millers at last week's prices,
but other sorts are 1s. to 2s. per
quarter lower.

Barley being now so plentiful, it
sells very heavily, and is reduced
in value since last Monday full 2s.
per quarter. Beans have also be-
come heavy in sale, and are rather
lower. Boiling Peas go off slowly

to-day, and are declined 1s. per quarter. Grey Peas are reduced 1s. to 2s. per quarter. The quantity of Oats for sale not being large, all the dry parcels sold freely at full as good prices as this day se'n-night, but such samples as are soft in hand sold heavily. In Flour there is no alteration.

Price on Board Ship.

Flour, per sack 45s. to 50s.
 ——— Seconds 40s. — 44s.
 ——— North Country .. 38s. — 40s.

COUNTRY CORN MARKETS.

By the QUARTER, excepting where otherwise named; from Wednesday to Saturday last, inclusive.

The Scotch Markets are the Returns of the Week before.

WHEAT.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Uxbridge, per load	10l.	0s.	16l.	15s.
Aylesbury... ditto	9l.	0s.	12l.	10s.
Newbury	35	0	—	72 0
Reading	41	0	—	57 0
Henley	38	0	—	63 0
Banbury	42	0	—	53 4
Devizes	40	0	—	68 0
Warminster	42	0	—	66 0
Sherborne	0	0	—	0 0
Dorchester, per load ...	10l.	10s.	16l.	0s.
Exeter, per bushel	7	6	—	8 9
Lewes	50	0	—	60 0
Guildford, per load	10l.	0s.	17l.	0s.
Winchester, ditto	10l.	0s.	16l.	5s.
Basingstoke	48	0	—	66 0
Chelmsford, per load ..	9l.	0s.	14l.	10s.
Yarmouth	48	0	—	52 3
Hungerford	44	0	—	65 0
Lynn	36	0	—	48 0
Horncastle	36	0	—	48 0
Stamford	39	0	—	52 0
Northampton	44	0	—	50 0
Truro, 24 galls. to a bush.	20	0	—	0 0
Swansea, per bushel ...	8	0	—	0 0
Nottingham	46	0	—	0 0
Derby, 34 quarts to bush.	50	4	—	56 0
Newcastle	38	0	—	55 0
Dalkeith, per boll *	16	0	—	28 0
Haddington, ditto*	22	0	—	33 6

* The Scotch boll is 3 per cent more than 4 bushels.

Liverpool, Nov. 18.—There was an improved demand during the past week for good Old Wheat, and on the sales effected 3d. per bushel was obtained in advance on the prices of this day se'n-night. The demand was also tolerably good for New dry Irish Wheat, and for Oats, both Old and New, at late prices. There was a good attendance at this day's market of both town and country dealers, and sales to a good extent of Old Wheat were made, at the improvement above noted, but middling and damp parcels of New Irish were scarcely saleable. English and Irish Flour each at an advance of 2s. per sack, and in good demand. In other articles of the trade no material alteration was experienced.

Imported into Liverpool from the 11th to the 17th November 1823, inclusive:—Wheat, 4,732; Oats, 17,410; Barley, 1,080; Malt, 230; and Beans, 94 quarters. Oatmeal, 220 packs of 240 lbs. Flour, 664 sacks.

Norwich, Nov. 22.—The supplies being tolerably large to-day, there was rather a falling off in the demand, and prices in consequence rather lower: Wheat, 40s. to 50s.; Barley, 24s. to 30s.; Oats, 20s. to 24s. per quarter.

Bristol, Nov. 22.—There is a better sale for most kinds of Grain,

&c. at this place, than has been for some time past. Supply as yet not much increased. Prices about as follow:—Best Wheat from 8s. to 8s. 3d.; inferior ditto, 4s. 6d. to 6s. 6d.; Barley, 2s. 9d. to 4s.; Beans, 3s. 6d. to 5s. 3d.; Oats, 2s. to 3s.; and Malt, 4s. 9d. to 7s. per bushel. Flour, Seconds, 28s. to 46s. per bag.

Birmingham, Nov. 20.—Our supply of Barley at this day's market exceeded the demand. Sales were therefore heavy, and the prices declined 1s. to 2s. per quarter. Beans and Peas were about 1s. per quarter dearer. Flour sold more freely at the late quotations. Wheat, Malt, and Oats, &c. were without alteration. Fine Flour, 42s. to 45s. per sack; Second ditto, 36s. to 40s. The prices of Grain as follows:—Wheat, 5s. to 6s. 8d. per 60 lbs.; Barley, 28s. to 31s.; Malt, 56s. to 56s.; Oats, 22s. to 30s.; and Peas, 38s. to 50s. per quarter; Beans, 15s. to 16s. 6d. per ten scores.

Ipswich, Nov. 22.—Our market to-day was not so largely supplied with Barley as last week, but the price was 1s. per quarter lower. In other Grain no alteration. Prices as follow:—Old Wheat, 50s. to 60s.; New ditto, 40s. to 54s.; Barley, 24s. to 30s.; Beans, old, 36s.; New ditto, 28s. to 30s.; Peas, 30s.; and Oats, 20s. to 24s. per quarter.

Wichech, Nov. 22.—Our Wheat market for prime dry samples was brisk in sale, at a small advance. Prices, 48s. to 52s.; second sorts, 46s. to 48s.; Old, 52s. to 56s. per quarter. Oats and Beans rather brisker in sale.

Boston, Nov. 19.—Our Market was thinly supplied with samples of Wheat, which was brisk in demand. Oats were plentiful, and sold at the following prices:—Wheat, from 46s. to 52s.; Oats, from 18s. to 22s.; Barley, 28s. to 30s.; and Old Beans, 30s. to 36s.

Wakefield, Nov. 21.—We have but a short supply of Grain up the river, and not many buyers. Fine New Wheats may be noted 1s. per quarter higher, but not brisk sale; Old Wheats dull sale at last week's prices; inferior and stale old samples rather lower. Meal and Oats and Shelling each dull at last week's prices. Malting Barley in demand, and full 1s. per quarter higher. Beans, Old and New, each 1s. per qr. higher. Rape-seed is 1l. per last higher. Flour 2s. per bag, and Malt 2s. per load higher.

Malton, Nov. 22.—Old Wheat, 58s. to 60s.; New ditto, 54s. to 56s. per quarter, five stone per bushel. Barley, 12d. to 13d. per stone; Oats, 10d. to 11d. per ditto.

City, 26 November 1823.

BACON.

The advertisement of a *Government contract*; an apparent scarcity of Hogs; a short crop of potatoes; an expectation that our Government will manifest "*a vigour beyond*" mere talking, in the approaching contest for the South American colonies; all these combine to stimulate those who are always eager to enter into speculations. A reference to last week's prices will show that a great advance has taken place; and a very general opinion prevails, that it has not reached the highest.—On board, 45s. to 46s.—Landed, 50s. to 52s.

BUTTER.

There has been an advance of about 2s. per cwt. upon the best kinds and qualities, since last week.

CHEESE.

Good Cheese of every kind is scarce: the trade in common kinds is dull: prices are *nominal*.

Price of Bread.—The price of the 4lb. Loaf is stated at from 7d. to 9d.

SMITHFIELD, Monday, Nov. 24.

Per Stone of 8 pounds (alive).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	2	10	to	3 10
Mutton.....	3	4	—	4 0
Veal.....	4	2	—	5 2
Pork.....	3	10	—	4 10
Beasts ... 3,243	| Sheep ... 21,780			
Calves 120	| Pigs 240			

NEWGATE (same day).

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	[s.	d.
Beef.....	2	0	to	2 8
Mutton.....	2	8	—	3 4
Veal.....	2	8	—	4 8
Pork.....	3	0	—	5 0

LEADENHALL (same day).

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef.....	1	10	to	3 0
Mutton.....	2	6	—	3 2
Veal.....	3	4	—	5 0
Pork.....	3	0	—	4 8

POTATOES.

SPITALFIELDS.—*per Ton.*

Ware	£ 2	10	to	£4 0
Middlings.....	1	15	—	2 0
Chats.....	1	15	—	0 0
Common Red..	0	0	—	0 0
Onions..	0s. 0d.	—	0s. 0d.	per bush.

BOROUGH.—per Ton.

Ware.....	£2 5 to £3 10
Middlings.....	1 10 — 2 0
Chats.....	1 10 — 0 0
Common Red..	0 0 — 0 0
Onions..	0s. 0d.—0s. 0d. per bush.

HAY and STRAW, per Load.

<i>Smithfield.</i> —Hay ..	90s. to 105s.
Straw...	36s. to 40s.
Clover 100s.	to 126s.
<i>St. James's.</i> —Hay....	65s. to 115s.
Straw...	31s. to 45s.
Clover..	80s. to 115s.
<i>Whitechapel.</i> —Hay....	90s. to 115s.
Straw...	36s. to 44s.
Clover..	95s. to 130s.

Price of HOPS, per Cwt. in the BOROUGH.

Monday, Nov. 24.—At our Hop market this week more has been done in Old Hops, and New Pockets have advanced 15s. to 20s. per cwt. and more money is asked for good Yearlings. Currency:—New Pockets 8*l.* to 12*l.* 12s.; Bags 7*l.* 10s. to 12*l.*; Yearlings, Pockets 7*l.* 10s. to 10*l.* 10s.; Bags 6*l.* to 9*l.* to 9s.; Old 65s. to 90s.

Maidstone, Nov. 20.—The Hop trade remains in just the same dull state as last advised, and there is little or nothing doing.

Worcester, Nov. 15.—The Hop trade is rather dull at present. No variation in price since our last. The duty remains steady at the last quotation.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY REGISTER.

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THE

WEST INDIA COLONIES.

Kensington, December 4th, 1823.

CANT, impudence and malignity; persevering cant, impudence and malignity seem, at last, to be approaching fast towards the accomplishment of depriving this Kingdom of Colonies that it has held for so many years, and with such great advantage. The bayonet, the bullet and the gibbet have been actually put in requisition in Demarara; and that, observe, for the purpose of putting to death a part of one class of persons, and, thereby, ruining and reducing to beggary another class of persons. Several other of the colonies have been, for some time, in a state, very little short of that of open rebellion;

or, rather, of civil war; the slaves on one side and the owners on the other side.

At last, the curse seems to have fallen upon Jamaica itself, which appears likely to become a scene of desolation and horror, in consequence of the impudent intermeddlings of a set of men, who, to speak of them in the mildest terms, are senseless fanatics. The state of that valuable colony may be judged of by the following Advertisement, which was published in the London Morning Chronicle of the first of this month. The Resolutions contained in this Advertisement, were, as the reader will perceive, agreed to at a Meeting held in the Island. They have been published in the London papers by the *authority of the Chairman*; and the people of the island seem to have sent them forth as the North Americans

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formerly did, as a declaration of their determination not to submit to certain regulations and Acts of the English Parliament. Before I proceed further, I shall insert this declaration, with a request that the reader will give it an attentive perusal.

Jamaica, St. David's, Oct. 4, 1823.

At a numerous and respectable Meeting of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of this Parish, held this day at the Vestry Room, at Yallahs, called by his Honour the Custos, agreeably to a Requisition made to him for that purpose,

RICHARD DICK, Esq. in the Chair;

1. Resolved, That, at this period of unparalleled distress, we view with the most serious alarm the late discussions in the Commons' House of Parliament, connected with the internal policy of the West India Islands.

2. Resolved, That the lives and properties of the inhabitants of the British Colonies have been greatly endangered by the agitation of these measures, and that to them is justly attributable our present state of civil and political perplexity, the almost total annihilation of our commerce, as well as of that confidence, on the existence of which our prosperity depends.

3. Resolved, That, under the sanction of British Laws, and admitted to a full participation in the blessings of the British Constitution, we hesitated not to vest our capital, under numerous disadvantages of climate, in these countries, whereby there has been added to the resources of the Empire an accession of wealth, fully commensurate to that which she has de-

rived from any equal portion of her possessions.

4. Resolved, That, as dutiful and loyal subjects, ever having maintained our allegiance inviolate to His Majesty's Family and Government, we have, to the utmost of our ability, supported the honour of his Crown and dignity, in seasons the most eventful and alarming, and on all occasions we have yielded to none in our zeal for the honour and the independence of the Empire.

5. Resolved, That we solemnly protest against the right of the Parliament of Great Britain to infringe upon our Constitutional Prerogative, or in any wise to disturb the prevailing harmony of this and the other Islands, by any intemperate harangues in the Great Council of the Nation, without having first taken into their most serious consideration our just claim to indemnity (which, it is admitted, should be "as liberal as necessary") from the inevitable ruin to which such interference cannot fail to lead.

6. Resolved, That, should the British Parliament proceed to legislate for us by the enactment of any laws which may have a tendency to deprive us of our just possessions, we shall conceive ourselves bound to resist their unwarranted and unjustifiable proceedings by every legitimate means in our power.

7. Resolved, That we confide to our Representatives in the Honourable House of Assembly the defence of our just rights and privileges, and that it be recommended to them, as the unanimous voice of this Meeting, to maintain our independence with temperance, moderation, and decision.

8. Resolved, That, whilst we firmly resist the violation of every Constitutional Charter, and instruct our Members to oppose every encroachment upon our established rights, we would nevertheless

less impress upon them our entire willingness to concur in whatever prudent plans they may agree with the House in adopting, for the moral and religious well being of our Negro Population, in whose comfort we feel so great an interest.

9. Resolved, That, from the gradual dissemination of Christian principles, we look forward with peculiar pleasure to the improvement of our Slaves in the scale of civilized beings; and that, from past experience, and the good effects which have already resulted from their instruction, we confidently anticipate, under Divine Providence, that we shall be enabled in due time, unaided by any interference in our Colonial Policy, to render them, what must prove highly pleasing to every master, a contented and happy people.

10. Resolved, That the known talents of the present Ministers of the Crown would lead us confidently to expect, that the recent calamity at Demarara will have the effect of guarding them against the dangerous innovations of our enemies, and in future induce them to pause before they give the weight of their recommendation to the hypothetical projects of such visionary philanthropists.

11. Resolved, That, should the Faction, alike hostile to our lives and our fortunes, and of which we have so much cause to complain, have sufficient interest to prevail against us in the House of Commons, we will still place the most firm reliance for support on the other Branches of the Legislature; but more especially on the well-known justice and humanity of our King, confident that he will not fail to interfere in behalf of a class of his faithful, though oppressed, subjects, who have ever been distinguished for their unbounded loyalty, and for their devoted attachment to his Family and Person.

The Colony of Jamaica is of more real value to England, is a source of greater wealth and strength, than the whole East Indies, and all the territories in the Eastern seas. Nothing is easier than the proof of this assertion. Jamaica is, in short, little removed from being a part of England itself. The planters are sugar farmers and coffee farmers; and their interests ought to be as scrupulously attended to, as if they were farmers in Cornwall or in Yorkshire. Yet, owing to the calumnies and the hypocritical cant, of the "faction" alluded to, in these spirited Resolutions, the people of this country have, by degrees, been brought to look upon them as a sort of aliens whom we have conquered, at some time or other; and also, as a set of cruel wretches; not to abhor whom, argues a want of humanity in ourselves.

The "faction," this hypocritical and calumniating faction have, at last, driven this most characteristically loyal Island of Jamaica to something very much like a rebellion.

ration of independence; as the reader will see, if he looks at the sixth and seventh of the above Resolutions. It is very true, that the West India Planters, have, in a great measure, to thank themselves for the perils that now surround them. If the knife be now at their throat, let them recollect that they owe it to a faction, the whole of which faction, and particularly the hypocritical and mischievous leader of it, have, invariably, applauded every measure, oppressive and insulting to the people of England. In this respect, the far greater part of the West Indians have gone hand in hand with this base, hypocritical, and corrupt faction: and, in this way, they have given the faction the power to ruin themselves, and to cause the knife to be laid to their throats.

However, foolish as may have been the part acted by the West Indians, that furnishes no reason for the destruction of their property, the reducing of their families to beggary, and the se-

vering of colonies so valuable from the mother country.

I have not room in this present Register; but, in my next I mean to make some remarks upon the pamphlet lately published by WILBERFORCE, who seems to be absolutely incurable; who seems resolved to do all the mischief he can, with his remaining powers of mind. Experience, even the most horrible, appears to produce no effect upon him. He has seen the emancipating projects succeeded, first by scenes of robbery and carnage, and then by slavery more hard than ever; and yet he perseveres! He has seen the blacks emancipated in Pennsylvania; and he has seen the robbed and plundered inhabitants of Pennsylvania, endeavouring, by all the arts of which even Quakers are capable, to cause these new free men to be *banished to Africa for ever*; and yet he perseveres!

The French Colony of St. Domingo was, perhaps, previous to the year 1793, the brightest spot

that the sun saw in the whole of its course; and, perhaps, the happiest spot, too. The whole colony was a garden; its products were immense; the slaves had nothing of slavery about them but the name. They were treated, almost universally, as men treat the best of servants. The town of Cape François surpassed in riches, (in proportion to its size), in brilliancy, in gaiety, in joyousness any town or city of which we, in modern times, have any knowledge. The town and the whole colony, were the admiration of all who beheld them. To go to St. Domingo was not like going to a place of trade; it was to be lost amidst scenes of hospitality and delight.

Santhonax and Pulverel, two "*philanthropists*," were sent out by the National Assembly of France to this scene of riches and of happiness; and in about three months from the day of their arrival, the beautiful plantations were laid waste, the proprietors and their families were

either butchered or driven into exile and beggary; and the light of the sun was obscured by the smoke which begun to ascend from dwellings, formerly so full of every thing desirable to man. I saw thousands of these miserable exiles; and I most cordially joined them in cursing the hypocrites that had been the cause of their ruin. I saw many hundreds, and I dare say, thousands, of negroe slaves, who had escaped with their masters and mistresses. Not one of them did I ever see or ever hear of, who, though at perfect liberty to do it, attempted to quit those masters or mistresses.

And what has been the result?

What has been the consequence of the proceedings of *SANTHONAX* and *PULVEREL*? I do not mean the consequence as to *France*; or the consequence as to the French planters; but the consequence as to the wretched negroes themselves. This consequence has been, a series of massacres, continuing, with little intermis-

ation, for one-and-thirty years, and put a stop to, from time to time, only by a system of slavery ten times harder than that which existed before; and which system of slavery, and that alone, has prevented the complete extermination of the wretched beings, to whom SANCHEZ and PULVEREL gave, what they had the infamy to call, freedom.

With this example before their eyes, will our Ministers lend their hand to any thing having a tendency towards an emancipating project? That the "*philanthropists*;" that these impostors will persevere, there can be very little doubt. But, surely, the Ministers will favour no such project! Yet, what are we to think of the letter of Lord BATHURST? Does it not look like a leaning with the *philanthropists*? Let them pause, however; for the *philanthropists* mean massacre, and loss of dominion to the kingdom.

As I said before, I have not space to enter, in this Register, so fully into this subject, as I could

wish. In my next I shall have, for more than twenty years past, put in my protest, at different times, against the projects of these hypocrites; and, certainly, such protest was never more necessary than at present. Here, again, the wretched *London press* comes, with open mouth, to assist in the work of devastation and ruin. Those writers, who are not imbued with hypocrisy or fanaticism, want courage to do their duty. They are afraid to discharge their duty lest they should fall under the calumniating tongue of the cant. I shall discharge my duty, in spite of the cant and the folly of the day. Nothing is so cheap as to be "*humane*" at the expense of our neighbour; and the Jamaica planter is as much my neighbour as the hop planter in Kent is. If it be humanity for which I wish to have the reputation, let me gain it by forgiving some one his debt, or giving some one my money; and not by calling upon others to make sacrifices in which I do not participate.

I shall show, that Wilberforce's Appeal to the Nation is a tissue of misrepresentations and falsehoods, most gross and manifestly wilful. But, is it not worth while to ask, how it comes to pass, that those who set themselves up for friends of the blacks, are, generally, the most bitter and implacable enemies of the whites. If, indeed, these philanthropists had ever raised their voices against any of the Power of Imprisonment Bills; against any of the floggings, of which so much has been known; against the Six Acts, which, in certain cases, expose Englishmen to be put to death for meeting to deliberate on public affairs; against shutting the Irish up in their houses, from sunset to sunrise, and the transporting of them, by dozens, without Trial by Jury; against the transporting of men, for being in pursuit of pheasants and hares, and putting them to death, if they resist a game-keeper that seizes, or endeavours to seize them: if these philanthropists had ever raised their voices

against any of these: if they had ever given even a hint at their disapproving of the imprisonment of four years and a half of JOSEPH SWANN: nay, if they had not joined in *applauding the conduct of the Manchester Magistrates and Yeomanry*: if even this positive evidence of their inhumanity did not exist, I should be ready to allow that there was a possibility of their acting from an error of judgment. But, having been, as they notoriously have, invariably, amongst the most cruel towards the suffering people of England, it would be hypocrisy, equal to their own, to pretend to impute their emancipating projects to any thing other than a desire to gain, by the means of sham humanity, the popularity and influence, necessary to enable them to exert the means of *enriching themselves at the public expense*.

It is surprising that a faction, apparently so despicable, should have obtained influence sufficient to do so much mischief; but, when one considers the extreme craft of

this faction, its profound dissimulation, its great art of mixing up religion with its politics; when one considers what a vast body of hypocrisy comes whining and roaring to its assistance in the numerous mongrel sects, with which this unhappy land is infested; when one reflects that there are, upon an average, from ten to fifteen thousand impudent sleekheaded blackguards bawling aloud in the conventicles, and all making a merit of being humane, at the expense of the planters in the colonies. When one reflects upon the combined operations of these various bodies of hypocrites; and when we reflect, too, on the credulity of the people of this country, and that this unprincipled press finds its interest in helping on the delusion; when we reflect on all these things, we ought not to be surprised to find that the colonies are fast approaching to a state of open rebellion.

The colonists, like the landholders in England, have been nearly ruined, by the determina-

tion to sacrifice every other class to the Jews and Jobbers. But the colonists had another enemy to contend with, and still have that enemy. They are compelled to pay three times the amount of the money they have borrowed upon the estates; and while the mortgagee has his claws in their flesh, on one side, the friend of the blacks has his more sanguinary claws fastened on the other side.

My opinion is, however, that, if these latter claws be not speedily taken out by the Parliament; if something be not done to tranquilize the proprietors with regard to the security of their property, something desperate will take place; and that a probable consequence will be a second chapter of the desolation and bloodshed of St. Domingo. This being my opinion, it is manifestly my duty to return to the subject as speedily as possible. This I shall do next week, in the form of a letter to that great "friend of the blacks," Mr. WILBERFORCE.

WM. COBBETT.

LOCUST TREES.

[Concluded from last Register.]

I LEFT off, in my last Register, by saying that the question, whether these trees would come to a good size in *England*, and in a *reasonable time*,—should be answered in this Register. I am now about to answer it, and that, too, in what I am sure will be deemed a most satisfactory manner. But, as I said before, *this*, and the mode of *cultivating* these trees, are matters that must not be *skipped over*. I am about to produce *instances of the growth of these trees*. I have, in the former part of the essay, shown that the wood is *imperishable*, except by the means of fire. I have placed pieces of wood to be examined. Every man will say, that, if this wood will *grow* in *England*, will *grow well*, will *grow fast*, to introduce it must be of benefit greater than can be easily described.

I am going to state the *actual measurement* of Locusts of my own planting at three different times; that is to say, in 1807, 1809, and 1813. But I must go back a little, in order to give the full *history* of these plantations; a history which, I am sure, every man of any feeling will read with

a degree of interest that he has rarely experienced.

The *scene* of the plantings is a piece of ground of about three acres, perhaps, close by the village of Botley, in Hampshire, where I lived from 1805, till driven away to America by *Sidmouth and Company's Power of Imprisonment Bill*, in 1817. On this piece of ground stood, and stands, a dwelling-house, about 50 feet long, 40 feet wide, 3 clear stories high, with a high roof and high chimneys. When I entered on the place, in 1805, there were some *Lombardy Poplars*, and some few other things of the tree and shrub kind. I *grubbed all up*. So that there stood this great, high house, upon a piece of *bare ground*. The high road passes within about fifty yards of one end of the house. There it stood in 1805, upon the bare and naked ground. Now, at the end of eighteen years, the house is *completely buried in a wood*, grown up out of trees not one of which, when planted, was more than *four feet high*, and the far greater part of them were *not two feet high*; and, what is more, almost the whole of the *deciduous trees*, raised from the *seed* by me, in and after the year 1806.

I, like all other planters, was

in haste. The nakedness of my house called for shelter. I bought *large trees*, carried them to Botley at great expense, planted them. But, by degrees, I pulled them all up, and flung them away, except a row of them, placed against a dead wall, merely as a screen. The plantation is, all taken together, the most beautiful that I ever saw. It consists, in part, of my LOCUST TREES, planted in the three years before mentioned; and of these I am now going to give an account. This account will be read *hundreds of years hence*. The time will come (and it will not be very distant) when the *Locust tree will be more common in England than the Oak*; when a man will be thought mad, if he use any thing but *Locust* in the making of *sills, posts, gates, joists, feet for rick-stands, stocks and axletrees for wheels, hop-poles, pales*, or, for any thing where there is *liability to rot*. This time will not be distant, seeing that the *Locust* grows so fast. The next race of children but one; that is to say, those who will be born *sixty-years hence*, will think that *Locust trees have always been* the most numerous trees in England; and some curious writer of a century or two hence, will tell his readers, that, "*wonderful as it may seem, the*

Locust was hardly known in England until about the year 1823, when the nation was introduced to a knowledge of it by WILLIAM COBBETT." What he will say of me besides, I do not know; but I know that he will say this of me. I enter upon this account, therefore, knowing that I am writing for centuries and centuries to come.

In 1806, I imported several kinds of forestseeds from the North American States, in which I had resided from 1792 to 1806. Of *Locusts* I sowed but little seed. It was sown in the Spring of 1806, and TWO of the plants were planted out in April 1807.

In 1808, I got some more seed; and, in 1809, I planted FIVE of the plants. These also were planted in April, and very late in April.

In 1812, I sowed some more seed; and, in 1813, (in April again) I planted out FIVE of the plants.

These plants always made part of a plantation, consisting of several sorts of trees. I have not been to measure these trees myself; but they have been very carefully measured under the direction of a gentleman, who lives in that village, and who has been so good as to send me a statement

of the dimensions. The trees (for they are really timber-trees) were measured thus: FIRST, the height to the tip-top: SECOND, the number of inches round, at the bottom, then at three feet high, then at six feet high, then at nine feet high, and then at twelve feet high. If there were more than one limb, both, or all, the limbs were to be measured as high up as twelve feet. Now, then, for the dimensions. I will speak of the soil afterwards:

The two trees planted in April 1907, raised from seed sowed in 1898. These trees have had seventeen years' growth.

No. 1.

HEIGHT, 42 feet.

INCHES } 69, at bottom.

ROUND, } 58, at 3 feet up.

40, at 6 feet.

32, at 9 feet, limb 1.

22, at 9 feet, limb 2.

25, at 12 feet, limb 1.

18, at 12 feet, limb 2.

No. 2.

HEIGHT, 38 feet.

INCHES } 60, at bottom.

ROUND, } 34, at 3 feet, limb 1.

34, at 3 feet, limb 2.

31, at 6 feet, limb 1.

33, at 6 feet, limb 2.

22, at 9 feet, limb 1.

22, at 9 feet, limb 2.

22, at 9 feet, limb 3.

17, at 12 feet, limb 1.

18, at 12 feet, limb 2.

18, at 12 feet, limb 3.

The five trees planted in April 1909, raised from seed sowed in 1898. Fourteen years' growth.

No. 3.

HEIGHT, 33 feet.

INCHES ROUND, 28, at bottom.

24, at 3 feet up.

23, at 6 feet.

23, at 9 feet.

19, at 12 feet.

No. 4.

HEIGHT, 35 feet.

INCHES ROUND, 28, at bottom.

22, at 3 feet up.

21, at 6 feet.

18, at 9 feet.

17, at 12 feet.

No. 5.

HEIGHT, 39 feet.

INCHES } 26, at bottom.

ROUND, } 23, at 3 feet up.

20, at 6 feet.

14, at 9 feet, limb 1.

13, at 9 feet, limb 2.

13, at 12 feet, limb 1.

12, at 12 feet, limb 2.

No. 6.

HEIGHT, 36 feet.

INCHES ROUND, 24, at bottom.

22, at 3 feet up.

20, at 6 feet.

15, at 9 feet.

13, at 12 feet.

No. 7.

HEIGHT, 35 feet.

INCHES ROUND, 32, at bottom.

20, at 3 feet up.

16, at 6 feet.

14, at 9 feet.

12, at 12 feet.

*The five trees planted in April
1813, raised from seed sowed in
1812. Eleven years' growth.*

No. 8.

HEIGHT, 39 feet.

INCHES ROUND, 32, at bottom.
25, at 3 feet up.
24, at 6 feet.
19, at 9 feet.
16, at 12 feet.

No. 9.

HEIGHT, 38 feet.

INCHES ROUND, 33, at bottom.
24, at 3 feet up.
23, at 6 feet.
19, at 9 feet.
16, at 12 feet.

No. 10.

HEIGHT, 37 feet.

INCHES } 38, at bottom.
ROUND, } 30, at 3 feet up.
25, at 6 feet.
24, at 9 feet.
18, at 12 feet, limb 1.
19, at 12 feet, limb 2.

No. 11.

HEIGHT, 40 feet.

INCHES ROUND, 36, at bottom.
30, at 3 feet up.
26, at 6 feet.
24, at 9 feet.
19, at 12 feet.

No. 12.

HEIGHT, 40 feet.

INCHES } 38, at bottom.
ROUND, } 31, at 3 feet up.
28, at 6 feet.
26, at 9 feet.
22, at 12 feet, limb 1.
16, at 12 feet, limb 2.

Now, let it be observed, that these trees are growing at Botley; that any body may see them there; that there are thousands of persons who can bear testimony to the rise of the plantation; that the men who planted these trees are living, and on the spot too.

Did any one of my readers ever know, or hear of, a growth of timber trees to equal this? *Larches* and *firs*, even these soft things were, perhaps, never known to get up and to swell out so fast as this. I reckon the years of growth from the year of *planting out* to *this year*, inclusive, though there is almost half a year less. The last tree, for instance, (No. 12), has not been planted out *eleven years* until next April. And did Englishmen ever before hear of such growth of timber *far better than oak*? Look at the dimensions of that tree. *Forty feet* high, *three feet and two inches* round at the bottom, and its two limbs, at *twelve feet* from the ground, *just the same* bigness. I regret, that I did not get the *inches round* at twenty feet from the ground. But, only think of such a growth of wood ten times as good as *spine oak*!

But, now, as to the *soil*. No soil can be too good for such trees. But, the Locust will grow on almost any soil. The reader will

have perceived a great difference in the *rate* of growth of the three plantations; and, I am now about to show the cause of it. The *first* plantation (Nos. 1 and 2) was made in *deep, rich, fine mould*. The *third* plantation (Nos. 8 to 12) was made in *good loam*, and by *the side of running water*. But, the *second* plantation (Nos. 3 to 7) was made in a *poor gravelly* soil, having about a foot of earth, pretty well mixed with stones, at the top, and, then, as you went down, more and more of gravel. In short, very poor land indeed: a *gravelly brow*, with, at about four feet deep, a bed of sour clay under the gravel. This ground was, however, *well trenched*, in the manner recommended in my Gardening Book: the gravel was kept at bottom, though the ground was all *well moved* to the depth of two or three feet. But, who can reasonably wish trees to grow faster than those of this second plantation. At the utmost it is but *fourteen years old*, and the average height is *thirty-six feet seven inches*; the average bigness round at bottom is, *two feet four inches*; and, at twelve feet high, the average bigness round is one foot five inches; and the average *diameter*, is more than *seven inches*. Where do you find

such a growth as this, even of *firs*? One of *these* trees is sufficient for a common *gate-post*; sufficient to cut *sills of doors* and *windows* out of. And always, straight or crooked, fit for *ship-trunnels*, which are not above eighteen inches long, and only about two inches through. You may plant to-day, and have wood for ship-trunnels in five or six years' time.

I beg the reader to look at the *shape* of the above trees. The two first were wanted to *spread*, and were, therefore, pruned to have limbs come out not far from the ground. The heads of these are about *twenty feet across*. The others, from Nos. 8 to 12 were planted in *close order*. Not at more than *four feet apart*. They were kept pruned to a single stem; until Sidmouth and Company drove me off early in 1817. That year and 1818, they went unpruned; but, I pruned them again at Christmas 1819, though some of them had then got limbs too big to cut off. My intention was that they should have *clear stems forty feet long*. The prunings of these few trees produced a good large parcel of *fire-wood*; and here is another important matter; for the locust wood, green or dry, is the very best for fuel. It is, at least, equal to the *hickory*. A log

of either, when once fairly on fire, will never go out. If it be on fire at one end, and you leave it to itself in that state, the fire will keep eating on till it has consumed the whole log. What a difference, even in this respect, between this wood and any wood that we have of common growth in England!

This tree grows even *better* in England than in the United States of America, generally. Along the coast, in Pennsylvania, it will not thrive. It grows pretty well, in some parts of Long Island; but not nearly so fast and so *clear* as in England. They *plant* it in their fields, though they have so much of natural woods. They never neglect to cherish the Locust tree, though they slaughter every thing else. It does not grow so fast as in England. It is *VERY DEAR, compared with other timber*. A good large tree will fetch from *ten to twenty pounds*; and, while this is the price of locust, they cut up the most beautiful oak-trees for fire-wood!

We have this famous tree, and have had it for about a hundred years, growing in our *ornamental plantations*. I saw a tree or two that had been cut down in the gardens of LORD RENELAGE, at Fulham, in 1819, just after my return from America. These trees

were sold to a carpenter, and I bought one of them. I have applied the timber to several uses, such as *dog-houses*, a *wood-cutting horse*, *sills for a smoke-house*. I have had a *window-sill*, made of this Fulham locust, on purpose to *show* at the *Office of the Register*, where any gentleman may now see it. It is about seven inches through. I have also had *some little blocks* of this wood cut out, and they are at the Office of the Register for any one to look at, and, if *good reason* be given for it, to be *taken away*. Some gentlemen may wish to send a block to friends who are not in London. If the booksellers who sell the Register in the country, should be applied to for the purpose, by gentlemen in their neighbourhood, *a block of the wood may be sent to them*. There is nothing like seeing in cases like this.

Can this wood, in the meanwhile, be got from America? Yes. When I was (as related in my last Register) at *Bayside*, Long Island, in October 1819, and was taking up the locust post of JAMES LAWRENCE, his neighbour, Mr. MATLOCK, was present. Mr. MATLOCK has a son, who is Captain of a New York ship trading to Liverpool. Soon after I got to England in the fall of 1819, I got a letter

from Mr. MATLOCK, telling me, that, in consequence of what I said about the locust wood when at Bayside, he had sent some butts of that wood by his son, consigned to CROPPER, BENSON, & Co. of Liverpool. He requested me to look out for a customer for it. I *instantly* wrote to Cropper & Co. (my friend Cropper), to know the PRICE per foot of these butts. They sent me word, that they were ALL SOLD! They did not tell me TO WHOM; but, they told me, that they had sold the wood for THREE SHILLINGS A FOOT! Let the reader *reflect* on all this; and, let "*friend* Cropper" deny any part of it if he can. Mr. MATLOCK got, without doubt, an ACCOUNT OF SALES. I beg of him to send me a copy of that account; that I may hunt out these *butts* of locust, and see what they were turned into. That importations of this timber will take place there can be no doubt; and of the White Oak too. Astonishing it is that this has never been done before; and not less astonishing, that cedar has not been imported for the making of palls; and for various other uses. The cedar is as light as deal and as durable as spine-oak at the least. I mean the swamp cedar; and not the red

cedar; for that is as durable as locust; but then it will not grow where locust will, and will grow fast nowhere.

I imported last year, a piece of *Locust*, a piece of *Hickory*, and two pieces of *White Oak*. They are at Kensington, not yet sawed out. They are intended to be used in the making of a *stage-coach* or two; in order to show the virtue of these sorts of wood. I am very certain, that, if any *coachmaker* were to import these sorts of timber (taking care to get *real white oak*) he would find his account in it. A carriage, besides the difference in the weight, would last five or six times as long as one made of English wood. In the *Locust* an importer could not be deceived; for, there is nothing that resembles it: but, there are fifty sorts of *oak* in America; and it is the *White Oak* only that is fit for the purposes of the carriage and implement-maker. It is useless to attempt to import white oak without an exporter, not only of *honesty*, but of *skill* in the thing.

As to the expenses of importation, my *four logs* above-mentioned, which I deem more than sufficient for two *stage-coaches*, cost eight dollars in the first place; about as much more getting to the ship; about five pounds freight

and English expenses ; duty 3*l.* 3*s.* 8*d.* The timber came with other things, and I cannot, to a nicety, ascertain its share of the *freight and expenses*. However, this cannot be far out of the way. The amount, then, is 3*l.* 12*s.* cost in America, which, with the freight and duty, make 11*l.* 15*s.* 8*d.* This is very little. I have the logs now lying at Kensington, where any body may see them. If large quantities were imported, the timber would come cheaper. But, once more let me caution the reader, that he must be SURE that he get *White Oak*. Merchants know nothing about the matter : I mean *sea merchants*. To send the white oak from America, there must be somebody well worthy of trust.

However, to cause the timber to be grown in England is my great object ; and, now, let us see what are the inducements to the growing of the Locust. Its use, at the earliest stage, would, perhaps, be *hop-poles*. The ordinary height of a hop-pole is about fifteen or sixteen feet. To obtain poles of sixteen feet would require, in land worth a pound an acre annual rent, *six years'* growth, and no more. You see, that, in my waterside plantation, there is an average height of thirty-nine

feet. This is in *eleven years*. And, in the gravel-brow plantation the average height, at fourteen years' end, is thirty-six feet seven inches. You must *cut off four feet*, perhaps, to come down to wood big enough for the top of a hop-pole. This leaves thirty-two feet seven inches ; and that is sixteen feet three and a half inches for each of the seven years. But, it is well known, that, as to *height*, a tree goes much farther in the first four or five years, than it does in the same number of years afterwards. The fact, as to these trees is, that they were fit for hop-poles at *five years* from the day of planting out.

Four feet each way is the distance for planting ; and, then, an acre contains *two thousand seven hundred and twenty*. Let us see the cost. The items are : the rent of the land for six years ; the taxes and rates ; the *trenching* of the land, for, without this half your time is lost ; the plants ; the planting ; the hoeing for three years. You must hoe twice, once early in June, and once early in August (in *dry weather*) for the three first years ; to keep out grass and weeds. After that, nothing will grow under the shade, so complete will it be.

We are going upon the suppo-

sition, that the planter *rents the land*. A very disadvantageous supposition; but, let us take it; supposing him to have a lease of twenty-one years. He cleans his ground well; and then, in the winter; this very winter, he has it trenched in the manner described in my Gardening Book, *keeping the good soil at the top*, and especially if there be *gravel or clay* at the bottom: but, in short, *trenching in the manner there described*. I always planted in *April*; but it is *late*; and I would advise the supposed planter to do it earlier. I suppose him to have plants of the middle size. In his twenty-one years, he will have *three* (at least) cuttings of poles; for, when he has cut his first crop, up springs another; and he will now, at this second cutting, get *two poles from each plant*. He will have the same at the *third* cutting. How much is a sixteen feet hop-pole worth, that does not require shaving, and that will last *forty years*? An *Ash pole*, when shaved, will last *three years*, and, a part of it, *four years*; but, a bit must come off at the bottom of it each of the two last years, which makes it but short; and, by this time, it is wholly unfit to stand against the wind, when loaded with the binds

and leaves and hops. *One Locust pole* is, then, worth more than *ten Ash poles*; because, there is *ten times* as much cost in carriage, and ten times, nay, *thirty times*, as much cost in pointing; besides the *falling off in length* in the *Ash pole*, during the two last years of its service. The carriage is, perhaps, upon an average, *one third part* of the cost of the pole. Taking all these things into consideration, *one Locust pole* must be worth nearly a *score* of *Ash poles* of the same size and length. What is an *Ash pole* worth? I should suppose, that, take *Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Worcester, Essex*, and all the hop-plantations upon an average, a fair *Ash pole* of *sixteen feet* cannot be worth less than *threepence*, besides carriage. At this rate, and taking all the differences of the two into view, a *Locust pole* is worth nearly a *crown*. But, suppose it to be only *ten times* as good as the *Ash*; nay, suppose it to be only *four times* as good; it is then worth a *shilling*; and, indeed, it is worth a great deal more. How, then, stands the account of the acre of and for the twenty-one years?

At the end of the first Six Years.

Cr.	£.	s.	d.
2720 Poles, at 1s.	136	0	0
Dr.	£.	s.	d.
Six years' rent	6	0	0
Taxes and rates	4	0	0
Trenching, at 9d. a rod..	6	0	0
Plants, at 11s. a hundred	14	17	0
Planting	0	15	0
Six hoeings in 3 years..	2	8	0
Interest of money advanced.....	8	10	0
	42	10	0

Profit.....£ 93 10 0

At the end of the second Six Years.

Cr.	£.	s.	d.
5440 Poles, at 1s.	272	0	0
Dr.	£.	s.	d.
Six years' rent	6	0	0
Taxes and rates	4	0	0
Interest on advances ..	2	10	0
		12	10

Profit.....£ 260 10 0

At the end of the third Six Years.

Cr.	£.	s.	d.
5440 Poles, at 1s.	272	0	0
Dr.	£.	s.	d.
Six years' rent,	6	0	0
Taxes and rates	4	0	0
Interest on advances ..	2	10	0
	12	10	0

Profit.....£ 260 10 0

First Six Years.. 93 10 0

Second.....260 10 0

£. 614 10 0

This is the result at the end of eighteen years. Then the tenant may grub up, or sell the stems and the three years' growth to the landlord. This is all plain, and all true; but, it would, doubtless, be prevented by the increase of

Locust plantations. However, this conclusion is undeniable. A product like this may be relied upon, as safely as may a crop of wheat of four quarters to the acre, in wheat land which is in good order for the wheat.

If the plantation were for *timber* trees, the distances ought still to be the same, and the whole of the trees might stand till each was seven or eight inches through at six feet from the ground. Then a part might be cut down. Probably it would be a good way to leave the trees then, at eight feet apart, this would give two thousand and forty trees to cut down; and would leave six hundred and eighty trees to grow on. The two thousand and forty trees cut down, are each of them fit to make a common gate post; or, perhaps, to make from four to six window sills; or a couple or more of door sills, or a couple of park gate posts. These trees could not be worth less than five shillings a-piece. The above trees from number three to number seven, fourteen years' old, cannot, at this moment, be worth less than five shillings apiece. Each of them must have, at least, three feet of timber; and what timber is there that anybody can buy for twenty-pence a foot? The worth, then,

of this weeding of the plantation would be, five hundred and fifteen pounds per acre at the end of fourteen years. The six hundred and eighty trees remaining would be worth a great deal more than a pound a piece, at the end of another seven years. Thus an acre of land, besides paying rent and taxes, would yield a profit of more than a thousand pounds in twenty years.

When I made my little plantations of 1809, I planted, *in a field*, about six acres, partly of locusts, partly of ash, and other trees. In consequence of ELLENBOROUGH, GREST, LE BLANC and BAYLEY sending me to prison in 1810, this plantation got smothered with weeds, and a bailiff ploughed it up in 1811. A little piece of this plantation was left, it happened to be of ash. The plants stood at the rate of four thousand eight hundred and forty upon an acre. The trees upon the piece which was not ploughed up, are now worth, I should think, a couple of shillings each; and that is at the rate of four hundred and eighty-four pounds an acre. So that there is nothing so very wonderful in this calculation relative to the locusts, the profits of which, I have, indeed, greatly understated.

In the year 1810: the Spring

of that year, I sowed as many locust seeds as I thought would produce plants sufficient for a hundred acres of land; that is to say, two hundred and seventy-two thousand. I intended to plant these hundred acres in six distinct parcels of land, I having then six children; and I intended that each child should have one parcel, and that my sons should all be farmers. I saw the seeds come up in the Spring, most beautifully; and the scheme seemed to be in a fair way of accomplishment. But, alas! ELLENBOROUGH, GREST, LE BLANC and BAYLEY laid hold of me, in the following month of July! Away went the locust trees; and I became pitted, life for life, against the *THING*, under the existence of which, I had been condemned to live with felons for two years of my life; to pay a fine of a thousand pounds to the King; and to be held in bonds for seven years after that; and all this because I had expressed my indignation at the *flogging of Englishmen, in the heart of England, under a guard of German bayonets*. The poor little locust trees were buried amongst weeds and speedily destroyed; but I took care of the sons, who, however, have been prevented from becoming farmers.

My plan had nothing in it that was not most rational; and if I had now a hundred acres of land, or even fifty acres, I would not part with a single locust plant, except to oblige a friend. It will not be long, I dare say, before I shall make another sowing, with much about such a design as I had before; and, ELLENBOROUGH, GROSE, and Le RLANC will not disturb my project, at any rate. When the plantation of the trees from number three to number seven was going on, one of the men observed that the trees were very small. I said, small as they are, we shall see them grow into great timber trees. One of the men, whose name was GURMAN, said: "Our grandchildren may, Sir, but we never shall."—"I beg you will speak for yourself," said I; "for I expect to live to see them as *big round as my body*." There is hardly a tree of them that is not that already. And, indeed, it is a sorrowful instance of human frailty, that men are deterred from planting because they think that they, themselves, shall not see the trees come to perfection. I think I have, in this Register (the real Noah's Ark of subjects), once before pointed out to the admiration of the reader, the fable of La FONTAINE, entitled,

The Old Man and the Three Young Men. The sentiments expressed in that fable, are sufficient to immortalize the writer; and I greatly regret that I possess no translation, any thing like being worthy of the original.

In the above accounts of expenses, I have omitted the expense of pruning, or, at least, of felling and trimming the poles and trees. These expenses will fall greatly short of the amount of the *fire-wood*. The lop, however, will not be very great, seeing that the trees are to be constantly pruned, whether for poles or for timber. My trees of the two last plantations would have run out into limbs, like the two trees of the first plantation, if I had not been careful about the pruning. You must, also, be careful to prune in *time*; and sometimes to give, not only a winter pruning; but a summer pruning also. This, however, is a very trifling matter; for, a clever man, with a good knife, will go over an acre in a day, and pick up his cuttings into the bargain; though, perhaps, the summer cuttings are hardly worth picking up.

I have only one thing more to observe as to the cultivation; and that is, that I always cut down the trees, early in the month of

June, after having planted them out in April. Early in June they begin to show their leaves, and then I cut them down within an inch of the ground, taking care to have a very sharp knife, and to hold the stem of the plant firm, so as to prevent the root from being loosened by the operation. If the plant be of a tolerable size when planted; if the ground be well prepared, and the planting well performed, the tree will send up a shoot of full four feet the first year. You must have your trees looked over in about a fortnight after cutting them down, and again, in about a month, to see whether there be more than one shoot coming out from each stem. If there be, you must *rub off all but the strongest*. If this should be neglected, which it ought not, by any means, you must take care, when winter comes, to have but one shoot to each stem.

"It is a pity to cut it down!" How often have I heard this exclamation from persons, and persons of great sense, too, when I have advised them to cut their young trees down. Even gardeners and nurserymen are, in many cases, with difficulty prevailed upon, to refrain from acting upon the notion of this exclamation;

which means, in fact, that it is a pity to have straight and fast-growing trees. A neighbour of mine, the late Mr. CLEWER, of Botley, told me, that he sowed, when he was a young man, three acorns, in a row near to each other. I forget the number of years that he suffered the plants to remain, when he cut two of them down close to the ground, leaving one of them untouched. At the end of two years afterwards, he cut down again one of the two which he had cut down before, leaving the other two untouched. At the end of twenty years, the result was, what I cannot precisely recollect; but, as far as I can recollect, the tree which had been cut down twice, was a great deal taller and bigger than the tree which had been cut down only once; and that even this was half as tall again, and more than twice as big round at the bottom, as the tree which had not been cut down at all. If this be the case, with regard to trees that have never been transplanted, how necessary must it be to cut down transplanted trees!

I have before said; but I repeat, that any trees that are ordered, will be carefully sent to any part of the country. The *window sill*, mentioned above, and also the

little blocks of Locust wood, will be at Fleet Street after Monday next. These specimens of the timber have been cut off a tree grown at Fulham; and I believe that no better timber of the sort can be grown in any part of the world.

I make no apology to the readers of the Register, for having taken up so much of its space, with these American trees; because I look upon the subject to be one of deep and general interest; and because it must be manifest to every reasonable man, that I act, in this instance, from motives of public good, a great deal more than from motives of private interest.

WM. COBBETT.

RIDE IN FRANCE.

MR. JAMES COBBETT returned to London on Tuesday evening, after having gone, on horseback, about *eight hundred miles in France*. The Southernmost point was CHATREAUX, which is situated within a few miles of the centre of *France*.—The objects of his ride were, to ascertain the state of prices of land, of labour, of food, of raiment, of servants'

wages, of schooling by the year; to ascertain the amount of the rent of houses of various description in town and country; to ascertain the state of agriculture, and, as far as he was able, to ascertain the state of emigration from England, and how France was affected by this emigration, whether in her agriculture, handicraft or manufactures; to bring us home something like a true account of the state of France as to the administration of justice, as to the frequency or infrequency of crimes; but, above all things, to bring home a true account of the state of the labourers in agriculture; to inform us of the proportion which their wages bore, to the price of the necessaries of life; and to give us such an account of the relationships between landlord and tenant, and between farmer and labourer, as might enable us to judge between our state and the state of the French; this being, in reality, the only solid foundation whereon to build any conjecture as to what that Government is likely to be able to do, or to attempt with regard to us. A knowledge of the feelings, of the disposition, of the content or discontent of a *kingdom*, is not to be acquired in coffee-houses,

reading-rooms or other gossiping shops.—It has been found impossible to insert in the Register, the communications received weekly from Mr. JAMES COBBETT during his ride. It is, however, his intention to prepare for the press, and to publish, about the first week of January, the result of his observations and inquiries. He has seen the French people, in all situations of life. He has seen the labouring man in his cottage and at his dinner. And he flatters himself that the information, the detail of facts, which he has to communicate to the Public, will be found to be useful to many persons, at least: and, as to his manner of communicating the information, though it will stand in need of an uncommon portion of indulgence, he is sure that he shall receive the benefit of that indulgence.

STRAW PLAT.

I PERCEIVE that the Society of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, have published an offer, to give the *Silver Medal or Fifteen Guineas* "to the person who shall produce to the Society, on or before the first Tuesday in

March 1824, a Hat or Bonnet, made from indigenous British grass, that shall be equally good in texture and colour, as those imported from Leghorn."—This offer may lead, I should think, to much misunderstanding. In the first place, a *hundred different persons* may produce such hats or bonnets. In the next place, they may all be equal in colour and superior in texture to those imported from Leghorn, and yet they may all be extremely coarse; so coarse as really not to be worth five shillings apiece. The Society will, perhaps, give an *explanation* of this offer; for, it appears to me to stand in need of one.—I have seen plat, and even bonnets, made at Bury St. Edmunds, superior to any Leghorn that I have ever seen.

There are several *Schools* in England for teaching the knitting as well as the platting. Last Spring, when I published the last Number of the Cottage Economy, it was thought *impossible* for any body to do the knitting, except Jew-women. From the establishment of Mr. COBBINE and his partners, at Bury St. Edmunds, I am this day to receive a Suffolk Girl, who learnt the knitting from instructions given in my book, and who is

going down to Wittersham in Kent, to teach platting and knitting to the little girls in that parish. Here, then, this mystery is no longer a mystery—I am informed that great progress has been made in this business in several parishes in Suffolk. One thing I have heard, which stamps the character of the thing at once, and which proves the value of it, beyond all contradiction. It is this, that Mr. COBBING and his partners, have offered to maintain the poor of a certain parish for a hundred pounds a-year less than it now requires to maintain them, provided they have the work of the girls upon the straw. This is so clear a thing; it is a matter so unequivocal, that it leaves no room for doubt or cavilling. They say to the Overseers of the Parish: “We will take all your poor: we will maintain them instead of you, and for a hundred pounds a-year less, than their maintenance now costs you.” I believe that the poor costs seven hundred pounds a-year; so that here would be a saving of one pound out of seven, besides a profit to Mr. COBBING and his partners.—I have no doubt that this manufacture, which, observe, remains upon the land, to benefit the land, will cause a

very considerable reduction in the poor rates.—It is natural to suppose that those who import Leghorn bonnets and plat, will, as long as they can, deny the English plat and the bonnets made in England. There are many persons in the country who have had plat made, and who have brought it to London to sell. Some of them have gone to persons who are actually choked up with the Leghorn plat, who tell them, of course, that this English plat does not answer: The best way is, to obtain *English knitters*, which will very soon be a matter of great ease. They have accomplished this already at Bury St Edmunds: and, doubtless, knitters will soon be to be got in any part of the country.—The Society of Arts appear to overlook the circumstance that, it is *not grass* of which the hats and bonnets will be made, next year and for ever after. Miss WOODHOUSE’s bonnet is made of the straw of grass; but none of the Leghorn bonnets are. They are all made of the straw of Spring wheat; that is to say, of *bearded wheat*, which is sown at the time that barley is sown, and which differs, in that respect, from other kinds of wheat. Other kinds of wheat, will, however, do equally well;

but then, these other kinds of wheat ought not to be sown later than about January. The poorest and thinnest wheat may do; but there ought to be from fifteen to twenty bushels to the acre.—To make the *very finest plat*; to make plat as fine as that of the bonnet of Miss WOODHOUSE, does, perhaps, demand the straw of grass. But the main quantity must come out of the *straw of grain*. This was always my opinion, from the moment that I began to see the straw made into plat. There is a softness and a toughness in the wheat straw which are found in no other straw, as far as my observations have gone.—Mr. COBBING and his partners will, I believe (I am not sure), take any young persons to be instructed in platting and knitting. They may go from any part of the country to Bury St. Edmunds. It will not take, probably, more than a couple of months for a young woman of common capacity to learn the business; and it will be a great deal better to send a young woman to reside for a month or two in the cleanest town in England, and where every thing is done with more neatness and smartness than any where else; it would be a great deal better to send a young woman

thither than to expose her to the society and example of those dirtiest of all devils, the Jewesses of London. One would think that the nation must have been more cleanly when in Palestine, or else, in that hot country, their very rags must have crawled upon their backs. They complained of their task-masters in Egypt; but if they were as filthy then as they are now, they stood in need of somebody to keep a pretty tight hand over them. And, indeed, we, who read our Bibles, all know what a plague Moses had with them, to make them keep themselves from perishing from filth. Better not send a young woman to be tutored by things of this description, leaving the danger, or the example of blasphemy out of the question. One of the good things belonging to this discovery is, that it will give a good hearty blow to a numerous band of Jews. The dealers in Leghorn plat and bonnets; that is to say, the importers and the exporters at Leghorn, are, for the most part, Jews.—At Bury St. Edmunds, every thing can be learnt. It may serve for a year or so, as a Straw-plat University; and from the bottom of my soul, I believe, that more good might be learnt there in the course of one year, than has been

learnt at the other two Universities for the last hundred years. I hear of a lady in Suffolk, who has set the little girls of her parish to work upon this straw; and that she intends, that they shall all go to Church on Christmas-day, each with a bonnet of her own making upon her head. Nothing can be more praiseworthy than this; and if the King had issued his proclamation, or letter, or whatever else, Mr. PEELE may call it, calling upon the Bishops to call upon the Clergy to read to their Parishioners the last Number of my Cottage Economy, instead of calling upon them to get money from their parishioners, to be sent up to JOSHUA WATSON, Wine and Brandy Merchant, of Mincing Lane, to be laid out by Joshua in the promoting of Christian knowledge, His Majesty, I must say, would in my humble opinion, have been better employed. However, the manufacture will thrive; the thing will completely succeed; and that, too, without any particular effort of any body, in any sort of authority. The thing was well thought of before it was made public; it was set about in the right manner; it was pushed off in the right direction; it received its impulse from an able hand; and it will not stop till

the purpose be finally accomplished. I have no need to bestow any more of my time upon the matter. Fearing that, owing to the lateness of the period when I published the last Number of Cottage Economy; fearing that nobody else might set about the matter this year, I caused a pretty large quantity of straw to be prepared. I have some that I could spare to any gentleman that wishes to try the thing in his parish: I have enough for any purpose of this sort; and I would recommend to others, that which I would do myself; namely, send a young woman to learn the platting and knitting, or engage one that has already learnt them. Give her so much a week and her board and lodging; or give her so much for each scholar that she shall perfect, and let her board and lodge herself.—I will just add, that I am SURE, that the English women will beat the Italians and the Americans. I am quite sure of it; for I have already seen plat *as much finer than that of Miss Woodhouse, as hers was finer than any of the Leghorn that I had seen!* This, the reader will observe, is at the distance of only six months; of not quite SEVEN MONTHS from the day, that the Women of England

were appealed to on this subject, for the first time, in the few words that I had the honour to address to them at the Opera-house. If such be the effect at the end of SEVEN MONTHS, and with a Summer the most untoward that the elements ever gave to this country of cold and wet summers; if such be the effect, under such circumstances, what will be the effect at the end of a few years? Why, proportionately *finer* the plat cannot become; because it is already as fine as can be gratifying to the human sight; but in colour, in regularity, in beauty of execution, in all manner of ways, and in cheapness, a great progress will be made. I said from the beginning, and I say still, that the country will be a great *exporter* of this article; and then mark what a blessing it is, performed, as the work must be, in the fields and in the cottages; much of it, the winter evenings amusement to innumerable families, made happy by its means. It would be utterly impossible to make it the cause of congregating together thousands of miserable creatures to toil and to lose their health, and to have their morals destroyed for the benefit of a few. I was greatly pleased with the observation of

the Duke of SUSSEX when he gave me the Medal for this discovery; namely, that it was the more valuable as it promised to produce a manufacture, which could be carried on in every part of the country. This observation shows, that the Royal Duke had reflected upon the subject; and I am very sure that the event will show the wisdom of the observation.

GROSSE'S ANTIQUITIES.

I SOME time ago borrowed, in this sort of way, a set of Mr. WHITE'S History of the Antiquities of Selborne. Two copies were sent me, without the names or places of abode, of the gentlemen who were so kind as to send them. I have read the work through, and both sets have been taken great care of, and are ready to be returned, with my best thanks for the use of them.—I wish very much to have the use of Grosse's Antiquities of England, Ireland and Scotland, from this time to the first of February. If any Gentleman will be so obliging as to lend me the work, I will take the greatest possible care of it. I want it very much, and it costs more than I, at present, wish to lay out upon it.

MARKETS.

**Average Prices of CORN through-
out ENGLAND, for the week end-
ing 22d November.**

	Per Quarter.	s.	d.
Wheat	50	5	
Rye	30	11	
Barley	28	6	
Oats	21	1	
Beans	35	10	
Peas	34	7	

Corn Exchange, Mark Lane.

**Quantities and Prices of British
Corn, &c. sold and delivered in
this Market, during the week ended
Saturday, 22d November.**

	Qrs.	£.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Wheat 10,890 for 39,670	19	8	Average, 55	6		
Barley 5,809	8,999	5	9	30	11	
Oats 8,219	10,807	10	10	24	5	
Rye 45	75	2	19	33	4	
Beans 1,673	3,260	6	10	38	11	
Peas 1,731	3,402	17	9	38	2	

**Quarters of English Grain, &c.
arrived Coastwise, from Nov. 24
to Nov. 29, inclusive.**

Wheat..	9,234	Pease...	2,948
Barley...	8,773	Tares.....	—
Malt.....	4,225	Linseed....	—
Oats....	9,608	Rape.....	6
Rye.....	12	Brank.....	—
Beans...	2,258	Mustard...	604

**Various Seeds, 272; Flax, 7;
and Hemp, 165 qrs—Flour, 6,548
sacks.**

From Ireland.—Oats, 6,235 qrs.

**Foreign. — Linseed, 758 qrs—
Flour, 200 barrels.**

Friday, Nov. 28.—The arrivals of this week are tolerably good, and the Wheat trade is dull at rather lower prices than Monday. Barley is reduced full 1s. per qr. Beans and Peas sell very heavily, and are rather cheaper. Oats go off slowly, and hardly maintain Monday's rates.

Monday, Dec. 1.—The arrivals of all descriptions of Grain last week were considerable, and this morning there is a good fresh supply of Wheat, Barley, Beans, and Peas, from Essex, Kent, and Suffolk, with a fair quantity of Oats from the northern ports. There is a dull trade for every description of Wheat to-day, and even the best qualities are 1s. per qr. cheaper, and all other qualities are so very difficult to sell, that although offered at 2s. per quarter reduction from the prices of this day se'n-night, very few sales could be effected.

Barley is now so plentiful, that it has again fallen 1s. to 2s. per quarter. Beans came more freely to market, and they are declined 1s. to 2s. per quarter. Grey Peas are much more abundant than of late, and they are reduced in value 2s. per quarter. Boiling Peas are 2s. per quarter lower. Prime dry Oats alone command the attention of our buyers, they nearly maintain last quotations, but other sorts are very dull, and 1s. per quarter cheaper. Flour is unaltered.

Price on Board Ship.

Flour, per sack	45s. to 50s.
— Seconds	40s. — 44s.
— North Country	38s. — 40s.
Wheat, Old Red	46s. — 57s.
— Old White	52s. — 63s.
— New Fine	40s. — 42s.
— Superfine	44s. — 48s.

COUNTRY CORN MARKETS.

By the **QUARTER**, excepting where otherwise named; from Wednesday to Saturday last, inclusive.

The Scotch Markets are the Returns of the Week before.

WHEAT.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Uxbridge, per load	10l.	0s.	16l.	10s.
Aylesbury, ditto	9l.	0s.	12l.	0s.
Newbury	35	0	—	72 0
Reading	41	0	—	56 0
Henley	38	0	—	63 0
Banbury	42	0	—	56 0
Devizes	42	0	—	68 0
Warminster	44	0	—	66 0
Sherborne	0	0	—	0 0
Dorchester, per load	11l.	0s.	17l.	0s.
Exeter, per bushel	7	6	—	9 0
Lewes	48	0	—	64 0
Guildford, per load	11l.	0s.	16l.	15s.
Winchester, ditto	10l.	0s.	15l.	15s.
Basingstoke	47	0	—	62 0
Chelmsford, per load	9l.	0s.	14l.	5s.
Yarmouth	44	0	—	51 0
Hungerford	42	0	—	64 0
Lynn	36	0	—	48 0
Horncastle	40	0	—	48 0
Stamford	36	0	—	52 0
Northampton	44	0	—	52 0
Truro, 24 galls. to a bush.	20	0	—	0 0
Swansea, per bushel	8	0	—	0 0
Nottingham	46	7	—	0 0
Derby, 34 quarts to bush.	46	0	—	57 0
Newcastle	36	0	—	55 0
Dalkeith, per boll *	18	0	—	39 0
Haddington, ditto *	21	6	—	34 0

* The Scotch boll is 3 per cent more than 4 bushels.

Liverpool, Nov. 26.—In the course of last week there was a good deal of animation in this market, and fine Wheats sold at a further im-

provement in prices; but the market of this day being but indifferently attended there was but little business done, and each article of the trade may be considered nominally the same as those of this day se'nnight.

Imported into Liverpool from the 18th to the 24th November 1823, inclusive:—Wheat, 7,230; Oats, 17,231; Barley, 516; Malt, 570; Beans, 232; and Rye, 5 quarters. Oatmeal, 250 packs of 240 lbs. Flour, 895 sacks.

Bristol, Nov. 29.—There is more business doing here in Corn, &c. than has been for some time past, at nearly the following rates:—Best Wheat from 8s. to 8s. 3d.; inferior ditto, 5s. to 6s. 6d.; Barley, 2s. 9d. to 4s. 3d.; Beans, 3s. 6d. to 5s. 3d.; Oats, 2s. to 3s.; and Malt, 4s. 6d. to 7s. per bushel. Flour, Seconds, 30s. to 46s. per bag.

Birmingham, Nov. 27.—Our supply of Beans has materially increased, and they were a heavy sale at a decline in price of about 1s. per quarter; the same of Barley. Flour also was lower. Wheat, of best quality and condition, fully maintained the currency of this day se'nnight. Oats, Peas, Malt, &c. without alteration. The retail price of Flour has fallen 2d. per 16 lbs.

Ipswich, Nov. 29.—Our market to-day was not so largely supplied

with Barley, and the quality was generally middling and inferior. Wheat came more freely, but the quality was very damp and thin. Prices were rather lower, as follow:—Old Wheat, 50s. to 60s.; New ditto, 44s. to 54s.; Barley, 24s. to 30s.; Beans, old, 37s.; New ditto, 30s. to 32s.; Peas, 30s.; and Oats, 20s. to 24s. per quarter.

Wishack, Nov. 29.—Our market was not only dull in the sale of Wheat, but the article was from 1s. to 2s. per quarter lower, except for a prime dry sample or two. Oats and Beans without any variation from last week.

Wakefield, Nov. 28.—We have had a good supply of all kinds of Grain up the river, excepting Wheat and Oats. Not having many buyers, Fine Wheats are very dull, at a decline of 1s. to 2s. per quarter; secondary and stale Wheats are very dull sale, at full 3s. per quarter less. In Meal and Oats no alteration; but Shelling is 6d. per load lower. The supply of Malting Barley being larger, the trade has been very dull, at a reduction of 2s. to 3s. per quarter. No alteration in Malt, Flour, or Rapeseed.

COUNTRY

CATTLE AND MEAT MARKETS, &c.

Horncastle, Nov. 29.—Beef 5s. to 6s. per stone of 14 lbs.; Mutton 4d. to 5d.; Pork 5d. to 5d.; and Veal 6d. to 7d. per lb.

Bristol, Nov. 27.—Beef from 4½d. to 5½d.; Mutton 5d. to 5½d.; and Pork 4d. to 5d. per lb. sinking offal.

At *Morpeth* market on Wednesday, there were a good many Cattle, but only a short supply of Sheep: there being few buyers, prices continue much the same.—Beef from 4s. 3d. to 5s.; and Mutton 4s. 3d. to 5s. 6d. per Stone, sinking offals.

At *Uttoxeter* Fair, a great quantity of Cheese was pitched, which sold very briskly from 50s. to 56s. per 120 lbs.; a few dairies fetched rather more money. The very great improvement in the quality of the Cheese exhibited in these Fairs may be attributable partly to the great degree of emulation excited by the public exhibition of it, but mainly to the taking off the greater part of the exorbitant tax on salt.

City, 3 December 1823.

BACON.

The sudden and rapid advance in price has alarmed those who had made extensive time-bargains at 33s. or 34s. on board; and they are resorting to every possible contrivance to evade the fulfilment. With some of them it is a matter of necessity; for they are not in a condition to be able to ship Bacon at a loss of 35s. or 40s. per bale; and this same necessity has removed a

great many *scruples* which, some years ago, encumbered operations of this kind.—If we have a long continuance of cold weather (as last year) it will enable the Agents of the Belfast houses, who possess great means, to keep up the price of pork; but if, on the contrary, the weather should be mild, the high price of that article will make it dangerous to hold; and any indication of a giving way on their part would probably occasion a great fall both in Bacon and Pork.—On board, 48s. to 50s.—Landed, 50s. to 52s.

BUTTER.

There is a good demand for Butter, and the price being moderate, as compared with Bacon and Cheese, there is no probability of its going down, for the present at any rate.—On board: Carlow, 84s. to 86s.—Belfast, 84s.—Waterford, 78s. to 80s.—Dublin, 80s.—Cork or Limerick, 76s.—Landed: Carlow, 86s. to 88s.—Waterford, 78s. to 80s.—Dublin, 80s. to 82s.—Belfast, 86s.—Cork and Limerick, 80s.—Dutch, 94s. to 96s.—Pork, landed, 50s. to 52s.

CHEESE.

This article is brisk in the country and dull in London.—Old Cheshire, 70s. to 80s.; New, 56s. to 64s.—Double Gloster, 56s. to 63s.; Single, 46s. to 56s.

Price of Bread.—The price of the 4lb. Loaf is stated at from 7d. to 9d.

SMITHFIELD, Monday, Dec. 1.

Per Stone of 8 pounds (alive).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef.....	2	10	to	3 10
Mutton.....	3	4	—	4 0
Veal.....	4	4	—	5 4
Pork.....	3	10	—	4 10
Beasts ...	3,243		Sheep ...	21,780
Calves	116		Pigs	240

NEWGATE (same day).

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	[s.	d.
Beef.....	2	0	to	3 0
Mutton.....	2	4	—	3 4
Veal.....	2	8	—	4 8
Pork.....	3	0	—	5 0

LEADENHALL (same day).

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef.....	1	10	to	3 0
Mutton.....	2	6	—	3 4
Veal.....	3	4	—	5 0
Pork.....	2	8	—	4 8

POTATOES.

SPITALFIELDS.—per Ton.

Ware	£ 2	5	to	£ 4	0
Middlings.....	1	10	—	1	15
Chats.....	0	0	—	0	0
Common Red..	2	10	—	3	0
Onions..	2s. 0d.	—	0s. 0d.	per bush.	

BOROUGH.—per Ton.

Ware.....	£2 5 to £3 19
Middlings.....	1 15 — 2 0
Chats.....	1 10 — 0 0
Common Red..	2 5 — 3 0
Onions..	0s. 0d.—0s. 0d. per bush.

HAY and STRAW, per Load.

<i>Smithfield.</i> —Hay ..	80s. to 105s.
Straw...	36s. to 42s.
Clover..	96s. to 126s.
<i>St. James's.</i> —Hay...	65s. to 110s.
Straw...	30s. to 44s.
Clover..	80s. to 110s.
<i>Whitechapel.</i> —Hay...	84s. to 110s.
Straw...	36s. to 44s.
Clover..	90s. to 126s.

HOPS.

Monday, Dec. 1.—No alteration in the price of Hops since our last.

Maidstone, Nov. 27.—In consequence of the advance in London, we have experienced rather better trade, and some few lots have been disposed of, but not to any great amount, as the principal part of the Hops round this neighbourhood are put in bags, which are not much enquired after.

Worcester, Nov. 22.—56 pockets of Old Hops were this day weighed in our Market. Prices as follow: 1818, 3*l.* 10s. to 4*l.* 4s.; 1819, 3*l.* 15s. to 4*l.* 15s.; 1820, 3*l.* 10s. to 4*l.* 10s.; 1821, 4*l.* 10s. to 6*l.* 12s.; 1822, 7*l.* 7s. to 9*l.* Rumours are various as to the duty of the kingdom; it is now stated from 20,000*l.* to 23,000*l.*

COAL MARKET, Nov. 28.

<i>Ships at Market.</i>	<i>Ships sold.</i>	<i>Price.</i>
24 Newcastle..	26½	39s. 6d. to 45s. 6d.
14 Sunderland..	11½	38s. 6d.—47s. 6d.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY REGISTER.

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Published every Saturday Morning, at Seven o'Clock.

TO

MR. WILBERFORCE.

On his Pamphlet, entitled, "An Appeal to the Religion, Justice and Humanity of the Inhabitants of the British Empire, in behalf of the Negro Slaves in the West Indies."

SIR,

Kebleton, Dec. 10th, 1823.

You conclude the above-mentioned Pamphlet with expressing your expectation that "the grossest and most unfounded calumnies will be poured out against" you. This shows, that you do not rightly understand what *calumny* means. If the charge be *founded*, it cannot be *calumny*; and, as to a thing being *most unfounded*, that is sheer nonsense. I shall certainly not pour out *calumny* upon you, though so strongly pressed by your example; but, I shall, I think, prove you to be what a very large part

of persons of sense have long thought; namely, a very crafty, a very insincere, and a very malignant and mischievous man. In fact, what I am about to do is, to defend a pretty numerous body of our fellow subjects against your calumnies. I am aware, that you, in your quality of *Saint*, may claim a right to becall and to blackguard, as much as you please, any portion of the rest of mankind; but, though the leaders of mean and corrupt factions may submit to this claim, I shall protest against it; and shall treat you as if you were no *Saint* at all.

The object, which you profess to have in view, is, to rouse the people of this country, which, in the pompous slang of the newspapers and of Saint Stephen's, you call an "*Empire*;" your object is, to rouse the people of this country to use their influence with the Government and Legislature in order to make the **BLACKS in the West Indies FREE**; and this, too, without suffering the **WHITES** in the

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West Indies to have any thing to do with the matter; either by themselves, or by their legislative assemblies. Your pamphlet is a heap of confused matter. You distinctly state no object; you clearly describe none of your means; you do not say exactly *when*, or *how*, you would free the Blacks; you talk about preparatory steps, but never define them. What are we to gather from, "all lawful and constitutional means to mitigate, and, as soon as it may be safely done, to terminate, the Negro Slavery of the British Colonies?"

What a fine latitude for interpretation! POOR ORACLE, with all his profits from watching the "turn of the market," could not keep off the old fellow with his hour-glass; and, so, poor ORACLE is dead as a door nail! If he were alive, you might defy him to beat this. I wonder what "all constitutional means are." What do you mean by "constitutional"? You cannot tell us; and yet this word has, for years and years past, been everlastingly upon your lips, and upon the lips of all your fellow workers. Nobody talked more about the *constitution* than old loyalty-loan Dundas. Bawling Pitt never bawled so loudly as when he was bawling about the *constitution*, and he never bawled about the constitution so much as when he and you and the rest of you were proposing and passing Acts to authorize him and Dundas and their associates to shut Englishmen up in any of the jails without any charge preferred against them, and to keep them so shut up as long as they pleased, without ever bringing them to trial. I know you will

say, "These were nothing but ~~Whites~~." That is true; but that does not alter the fact; and I am only adverting to the fact, that the words, *constitution* and *constitutional*, have been constantly used most when mischief was most actively on foot.

"All constitutional means" are to be used. I remember how you lauded that *constitutional* measure, the Bank Stoppage Act, of those who, in Committee, recommended which, you were one. Nothing was so constitutional, as Sidmouth's Power-of-Imprisonment Bill; or, as his Circular about the press. However, I shall, perhaps, have to speak of other "constitutional means" by-and-by. At present, I shall only further observe upon this epithet, that it means *any thing*, or *nothing*, just as the writer, or the reader, pleases. But, then, the slavery is to be *mitigated*, and, as soon as it can be done *safely*, to be put *an end to*. You do not, in any part of your pamphlet, lay down any plan of mitigation; you do not show, nor attempt to show, that such mitigation can take place without manifest danger to the Whites. You acknowledge, that there may be *danger*; for, you talk about giving the freedom as soon as it can be *safely done*. If you cannot safely give freedom now, how do you know that you can ever do it with *safety*? And, how can you *safely* set about the work of mitigation?

I dissent entirely from your propositions. I am of opinion, not only that slavery cannot be abolished, but that it cannot be other than it is now, without the overthrow of the colonies; that is to say, without the destruction of

the Whites, and the total loss of the colonies to this country. And, indeed, you seem to be aware of this last consequence; for, in one place, you cry up the liberal policy of abandoning the navigation laws, and talk about the "folly" of supposing, that a nation gains by the depression of its neighbours. However, this is a question, which you ought to have put fairly and fully to those to whom you were addressing yourself. You ought to have told them, that they must, if they listened to you, be prepared for seeing Jamaica what French St. Domingo now is; that is to say, nine-tenths destroyed, and the benefit of the other tenth given chiefly to our maritime rival, the United States. Your "liberal policy" would scorn, I dare say, to think about such a trifling advantage to the United States, though they take care to preserve their slave system. You have found out, that "every nation is benefited by the growing affluence of others; and that all are thus interested in the well being and improvement of all!" Mad, ranting devils; to what a pitch will your ravings go at last!

But, again, I say, why did not you put this plainly to your readers? Why did you not tell them, that you would see the island of Jamaica, what French St. Domingo now is, rather than give up your project? Why did you not say, in distinct terms, that you cared less for the preservation of the colonies than for the gratification of your meddling and mischiefous ambition? You say, that, "taking in all considerations of political economy, and looking to the lamentable waste of human life amongst our soldiers and

seamen, raised at a great expense, as well as to the more direct pecuniary charge of protecting the sugar colonies, no system of civil polity was ever maintained at a greater price, or was less truly profitable, either to individuals or to the community, than our West India Settlements." This slips out slyly, and is not noticed by every reader; but it clearly shows, that, like "friend CROPPER," that sublime piece of cant and of humbug, you are, at bottom, for the overthrow of the colonies. This is no crime in you; but, then, you should have said it plainly; and not have gone on to almost the end of the pamphlet, pretending to be a friend of the West India planters and merchants.

It might easily be shown, that these colonies are almost the only ones that are really valuable to us; and, as to their being expensive, it is the mother country, which is, by the swarms of place-men and pensioners that she loads them with, and by the taxes and restrictions which she imposes on their produce, expensive to them. Will the mother country consent to their transferring of their allegiance to the United States, or to France? Why not, if they be a burden? The bare putting of the question rouses an Englishman's blood. Yet, why not do this at once, if what you say be true? Why not do this, rather than torment ourselves with everlasting disputes concerning this Negro slavery? It is near the close of your pamphlet, that you thus speak of the expense occasioned by these colonies. You seem to have read over the previous part, and to have perceived,

that, after all, your project could come to nothing without a *St. Domingo* termination. Then, despairing of showing the contrary of this, you find out, that the *possession* of the colonies is an *evil* rather than a good!

To those (if there be such) who think with you as to this point, I have nothing to say; for, if we ought to desire to *get rid* of the colonies, your efforts are most laudable; but, to those who think with me, that to keep these colonies, and in a state of tranquillity too, is, and especially at this time, an object of the greatest importance; to those who think, that we cannot lose these colonies without adding greatly to the strength of the United States; to those who duly consider the increasing force of the United States, the close connexion between those States and Russia and France; to such persons I have a great deal to say.

I have already observed, that you talk of *preparatory measures*, but never *define* them. You talk of *raising* the Negroes from their state of *depression*; you talk of *elevating* them, if they be not yet fit "for the enjoyment of *British freedom*;" you talk of *giving* them an *interest* in defending the community to which they belong. We shall see, perhaps, by-and-by, what interest of this kind has been left to the labourers who "enjoy *British freedom*." But, after all this talk; all this talk about *raising* and *elevating*, you say nothing *definite*. You do not *name* the things you would have done. If you had said, that you would make all free in such a time; that you would make all free of such an age; that you would do *this* or

that: then we should have known what you meant. But, it was not your intention to be explicit. This did not suit your purpose. You, therefore, talk of *all* lawful and constitutional means, but never *name* any of those means. You wish to *mitigate*, and finally *put an end to*, the slavery; yet, this is to be done only as soon as it can be *safely* done. But, in the very sentence in which you acknowledge, that *time* and *caution* are necessary, you begin your foul attacks on the colonists; you begin to give them that character, which, if it were just, would deprive them of all compassion, though the Negroes were to leave not a man of them alive.

Instead of proving, or attempting to prove, that the state of the Blacks can be changed without imminent danger to the Whites, and without producing more suffering than is produced by the present system; instead of attempting any thing of this kind, you set to work to *abuse*; to *cakeminate*, the White people and the Legislatures of the West Indies. You have not closed the sentence, in which you talk about doing the thing *safely*; you have not closed the sentence, before you call the system one of the "*grossest injustice* and most *heathenish irreligion*." The epithets *barbarous*, *cruel*, *savage*, *remorseless*, *brutal*, and the term *ruffian*, are applied to the planters, and, indeed, to the Whites in general, without the smallest apology or ceremony. The thing you drive at is, to get an Act of Parliament passed to take the power out of the hands of the *Colonial Assemblies*. This is the great point at which you aim; because, unless you can do

that, you cannot easily effect your purpose.

In order to carry this point, which is, perhaps, to be attempted when the Lord Johns meet, you represent the Assemblies as *unfit to make laws relative to the Blacks*; and you make the most *exaggerated statements relative to the treatment of the latter*. I shall now examine what you say as to these matters.

As to the first, you say, that the Colonial Assemblies do not possess an *exclusive* jurisdiction as to these subjects, as a *right*. What is meant by *exclusive*? If they have not the *sole* right, they have *no right at all*, and they may at once give the matter up to you and the rest of the great and wise House, who passed Peel's Bill to *make cash come*, and then the Small Note Bill to *keep cash away*, and who declared both to be *expedient*. You here for a second time appeal to the authority of DUNDAS and of BURKE. They never seemed to allow of any such right in the Assemblies. What is that to us? What *argument* is it in your favour? DUNDAS was, indeed, acquitted *by the House of Lords*; but, it is, nevertheless, true, that it was discovered and proved, that the ten thousand pounds which he subscribed to the *loyalty-loan*, he *took out of the public money*! Burke, indeed, understood something of West India affairs, of which we have a pretty good proof in his having discovered the *Leeward Island Fund*; that is to say, a tax on those islands, out of which tax he contrived to get three thousand pounds a-year while living, and *two thousand five hundred pounds a-year ever since he has been*

dead! These men are pretty authorities to appeal to! Perhaps two men more completely destitute of all public principle never existed in any country in the world.

Whence does the *unfitness* arise? You are very much hampered in providing an answer to this question. You say, that, "to persons not conversant with the state of things in the West Indies, it may appear *plausible* to say, that the Assemblies and their constituents are the most competent, in point of information, to the important work of *reform*; and many are apt to be misled by a *supposed analogy* between the relations of master and slave in the West Indies, and those of the owner and occupier of land and his labourers in this country." Ah! now; and what do you say to this? Why, you assert that there is no such analogy; and then you quote Mr. BROUGHAM for a description of the *speculating and adventuring and gambling* character of the West India landholders, what he says being mere *assertion* too. It is you, however, and not Mr. BROUGHAM, who tells us, that the West India proprietorship "gives none of those steady local attachments, which belong to the landed proprietor here, and make him the *natural patron of the labouring class, settled on his hereditary property*." Ah! you push hard to make it out, that the boroughmongers have a right to make laws *for us*; but that the West India proprietors (all the freeholders) have not a right to make laws *for the Blacks*! But, let us try this a little.

The principle on which you

proceed is this; that the Assemblies are *unfit* to make laws for the Blacks, because none but Whites sit in, or vote for members of, the Assemblies. Now, can you make shift to twist in such a way as to find out a justification for your having opposed radical reform in England? If the Assemblies be, on this ground, unfit to make laws for the Blacks, is the present Parliament fit to make laws for the people of this country? Oh! but our landowners are the "*natural patrons of the labouring classes*." Indeed! And, how come they, then, to cram the gaols so very full of them for their endeavouring to get a small share of those wild animals, which God has given to all? It is notorious, that about a third part of all the prisoners in each gaol consists of men put into the gaols for being in pursuit of, or for taking, hares, pheasants and partridges. God has given these to *all men*. They are not the property of any particular persons. They cannot be identified, or detained in any particular spot. Yet the gaols are filled with poor men, because these, driven by hunger, wish to have a small share of these wild animals. The laws which sanction this imprisonment are passed by those who, for the most part, own the land. And yet you do not think these unfit to make laws to bind the labouring classes; but, on the contrary, you call them the "*natural patrons*" of the labourers!

Another reason which you give for not leaving the Blacks to the Colonial Assemblies, is, that it is the *interest* of the Whites to keep the Blacks in their present state. You deny that it is, but say that

they think it *their interest*. And, did you ever yet hear of any King, aristocracy, or any body of great or rich persons, who did not think it their *interest* to keep the upper hand? You all along pretend, that what you propose would be for the *good of the Whites*; and this is just what WILLIAM LAMB said of us Reformers, when he was supporting Sidmouth's Power-of-Imprisonment Bill! Well; let the Whites judge for themselves, then. Surely the Assembly in Jamaica is as likely to know its *own interests* as you or Mr. BUXTON or Mrs. FAY.

In several instances you bid us look at the *United States*; you hold them out as an *example*. Let us see, then, how this example bears you out. In that country, there are, as to every State, *two governments*; one which has authority to a certain extent over all the states; and one which has authority within the state only. The CONGRESS is, to the State Governments, pretty much what the Government here is to those in the Colonies, America is a "*fine free country*;" but, the slave states will no more suffer the Congress, to meddle with their internal laws and regulations, than they will suffer it to put chains upon the limbs of the farmers and planters. Nay, the Constitution of the United States *forbids the Congress to meddle in this very question*, while it provides, that slave states shall have, in their proportion of representatives in Congress, an *allowance for the Blacks*. That is, each state being allotted representatives in number *proportioned to its population*, each slave state has a certain number of representatives on no-

count of its Blacks, over and above those to whom it is entitled by its White population. So that, in fact, the whole of the United States are governed by men, a part of whom sit in the Congress as the representatives, not of the slaves, but of the *proprietaryship* in slaves. They are the representatives of *slavery*, and of *nothing else*! Yet, you cite the *example* of the United States!

This is in the Congress, observe, where the members, who sit in virtue of property in slaves, assist to make laws which affect the whole of the States. Nor is it a thing to be overlooked, that of the FIVE PRESIDENTS, which the people of America have had to choose, they have chosen FOUR from a *slave state*, all of them born and bred in a *slave state*, and all of them *great slave-owners*, during their Presidentship as well as before! And yet, you would have this credulous nation, this cant-cajoled nation believe, that the West India Assemblies are *not to be trusted* with the making of laws affecting the Blacks, because they are composed of men, who have lived in a country where the Blacks are held in slavery, and because, they have, and must have, those feelings of contempt for, and all those prejudices relative to, the Blacks, which are entertained by all the Whites that live amongst them. Was not WASHINGTON, and were not JEFFERSON, MADISON and MONROE as liable to this objection? Yet, the people of the United States, so jealous of their liberty, chose these men as the depositories of the greatest degree of power existing in the country. And, they chose them, too, in preference to

others, who were not born and bred in a slave state, and who had never been slave-owners. Mark, moreover, that Mr. ADAMS, the only President not from a slave state, was *put out of his office at the end of four years*, and that each of the others was kept in his office for *eight years*. So that, the United States, out of their *thirty-six years* of Republican Government, have been *thirty-two years* under chief magistrate who were slave-holders; and have *chosen* to be thus; have rejected men, who were not slave-holders, in order to have the slave-holders. These chief magistrates have (and without boroughmonger control), the power of life and death as to condemned criminals; they have the nomination of ambassadors and other high officers; they are entrusted with the appointment of naval and military officers; they carry on negotiations with foreign powers, and they make treaties subject to ratification or rejection by the Senate; they are entrusted with the expenditure of a large part of the taxes; and they have an *absolute veto* as to all Acts passed by the Congress; for, though, these Acts would become laws, if the two houses of Congress were to persevere, they never have yet so persevered, in a case where the President has exercised his veto.

So that, according to your notion, according to that which you would infuse into the minds of the people of England, the people of the United States must be the most base, stupid, perverse and self-degraded wretches that ever were seen upon the face of the earth. If a man, born and bred

in a slave state; if a man who has never had any property that did not depend upon upholding a system of slavery; if such a man be unfit to partake in the making of laws, affecting merely his own individual state or colony; what a figure do the people of the United States make, who choose precisely such a man, and invest him with the power of preventing acts of the Congress from becoming laws?

You tell your readers, that it is necessary for you to dwell particularly upon this point: that it is necessary for you to insist with particular stress on the unfitness of the assemblies to pass the necessary laws. You will not, therefore, complain if I dwell, even longer than necessary, upon this same point. You complain, that the Colonial House of Assembly is chosen by the "*resident White proprietors at large*"; and that it must necessarily be governed, in "a great measure by their general sentiments and feelings."

Well! and what then? Is not this the proper and just source of government? You proceed, however, to observe, that the Assembly, "cannot be supposed to be influenced by what is here (in England) called the popular voice, but which, in the West Indies, is the voice of the *White colonists only*, and these, too, of the *lower order*, among whom the *esprit de corps* is peculiarly strong."

This is, indeed, a curious specimen of political hypocrisy; but, withal, one of the poorest shuffles that crafty canter ever resorted to. You were aware, that we should say that a choosing by the resident White population at large was a

very good sort of choosing; that it was a great deal better than the choosings of Old Sarum, of Gatton, and of the precious borough of *Bramber*: you were aware that we should say this; and that we should sigh for such a change here as would put us upon a level with the people of Jamaica, taking blacks and whites altogether: you were well aware, that the boroughmongers dare not give their consent to a choosing by a voice of the *resident proprietors at large*; freehold, copyhold and leasehold: you were well aware of this; and you well knew that you could impute no seat-selling to the people in power in Jamaica: in short, you were well aware, that as *representatives*, there was no comparison between the Members of the Assemblies of the Colonies, and the Members of that House of Commons, to which you wish to transfer the powers, which of right belong only to those Assemblies. Aware of these things, you endeavour to bolster yourself up by affecting to believe that the House of Commons is *influenced by the popular voice*; but that there is no such voice to influence the Assemblies in the West Indies; or, at any rate, if there be such voice, it is the voice of the Whites only, and, therefore, a mischievous voice. This creates in one's mind a strange confusion of ideas; but let me try to make one point clear at any rate. You clearly would have us understand, that the Assembly would be a better thing, and more fit to be trusted with the making of laws to govern the Blacks, if it were influenced by what is here called the "*popular voice*." This influence of the

popular voice upon a body of men chosen, not only without that voice, but, in most instances, in despite of it, is one of the impudent pretences that Corruption has hatched and brought forth in England. The language of Corruption is this: You do not, indeed, vote for Members of Parliament; not a thousandth part of you vote; but you are *virtually* represented; and you have, besides, always, working for you the influence of the popular voice. This is what Corruption tells us; and this, in substance, you now repeat. The popular voice, you say, has not its weight in the West Indies, as it has here.

I am going to hit you hard now; and, therefore, give you warning. The popular voice is here represented by you as a thing which *ought to have an influence* on the Assemblies in the West Indies; and because those Assemblies are not under the influence of such popular voice as exists here; those Assemblies not being under the influence of such popular voice, is one of the reasons why they are unfit to have power to make laws to affect that part of the labouring class who have no votes. Now, mark: in the year 1819, a motion was made in the House of Commons, for the House to inquire into the conduct of those who had killed, or had caused to be killed; and wounded, or caused to be wounded, about five hundred of the labouring classes in England. Mind, the motion was simply for *inquiry* into the matter. You, as the printed Report says, objected to that inquiry; and it states, also, that one ground of your objecting to it was, that it would be,

"YIELDING TO THE CLAMOUR OUT OF DOORS?"

Let that speak for itself. I find fault of nothing that you have done in the House of Commons; but until you can conjure up a distinction, and a pretty clear one too, between "*the popular voice*," and "*the clamour out of doors*," until you can conjure up something to make us believe that there is a difference between these two things, I shall consider this passage of your pamphlet as a choice specimen of hypocrisy.

The idea of an assembly being the better for being *influenced* by those, by whom it has not been *chosen* is despicable: it is contemptible and ridiculous. Surely it is better to let all those who are to have an influence on the assembly, assist in *choosing* the assembly; but, the fact which you would here make us believe to be true is false. The mass of the people in England have no influence whatever on the assembly at St. Stephen's. That assembly does what it pleases. It makes laws to make us pay *Sunday tolls*: it compels the man with the *ass-cart* to pay as much toll as the lord in his gig. It does what it pleases; and, as we have just seen, as to the popular voice, that is called *clamour*. Your argument, then, against the Colonial Assemblies is a much more powerful argument against the body to which you would transfer the power; and to which, be it observed, you, yourself, belong. Indeed, your argument carried to its natural extent, would prohibit the landowners, that is to say, the *masters*, to have any thing to do with the making of laws in any country. You are more of a democrat than

any one I ever heard of before: for, according to you, the laws affecting the labouring classes in every country, must be made by somebody, *not resident in that country*; and thus, we may make an exchange; the Parliament here may make laws affecting the Negroes, and the Colonial Assemblies make laws affecting the labourers in England. The thing is not very likely to take place; but, if you can bring it about, I can only say, that you shall have my hearty concurrence.

What ground, then, do you find to rest on, in your proposition to take from the Assemblies the right of making laws affecting the Negroes? Every argument that you produce, turns out to be an argument against yourself; and yet, unless you succeed on this point, your slanders on the colonists will be wholly unavailing. The example of the United States is complete in all its parts. That is not a country of slavish notions; that is not a country where the labouring classes are ill used; that is not a country where it is fashionable to despise the low and to oringe to the lofty: it is a country of real freedom, with the exception of that state of slavery which exists, with regard to the Blacks. If the thing were so monstrous as you represent it, if it were a mass of such cruelties and such horrors, could it possibly be tolerated in that country; and if the existence of the Black slavery engendered that tyranny and cruelty of disposition in the Whites, and rendered these Whites so unfit for the labours of legislation, is it to be believed that the humane, the hospitable, the kind, the gentle people of America,

who, in these respects, are surpassed by no people in the world: is it to be believed that this people would have, almost exclusively, chosen their Presidents from amongst the slaveholders, if to be a slave-holder inferred tyranny and cruelty of disposition?

In order to make out your case, as the lawyers call it, against the Assemblies, you descend largely, *on the treatment of the Blacks*. I am a good deal at your mercy here; because, in most instances, you produce nothing in the way of proof of your assertions. It seems impossible, that the Blacks should not have been exterminated long ago, if what you say be true. There must be great exaggeration; but if your statement were true, to the full extent, I should say, that you, especially as a Member of Parliament, ought not to move a step towards changing things in the West India, until things have been completely changed at home. My firm belief is, that the Negroes in our West India Colonies are, on the average, better fed, more comfortably situated, and lead easier and happier lives, than the labourers of this kingdom; and, though, as a subject of the King, I have a right to turn my attention to the West India Colonies; I have a right to talk about them and to write about them; but I have, morally speaking, no right to spend any portion of my time in endeavours to mend the lot of the slaves, as long as I am convinced that a large portion of my own countrymen are worse off than these slaves.

You appear to be well aware of this sort of objection to your

interference, and, therefore, you lay great stress upon the benefits of *Christianity*, of which I will speak more by-and-by. You observe that the West Indians, in the warmth of argument, have told us that the Negro slaves, are "as well or better off, than our British peasantry." British peasantry, in your teeth, canting pamphleteer! Where did you learn to call Englishmen *peasantry*? What high fed son or daughter of corruption furnished you with that word? In the vocabulary of what boroughmonger did you find it? Peasant means a wretched White slave; and the bare use of the word by you, shows that the West Indians were right when they said that their slaves were as well or better off, than the labourers in this country.

How are we to try the question? By what are we to judge? Is it by the relative feeding, clothing, lodging, and labour? I say, Yes. But this you decline! You will "not condescend to argue this question on any such grounds." These, however, are the grounds, on which every man of sense will argue the question. It may suit you, as it did George Rose, to set a higher value upon religion, or rather, upon what you call religion, than upon food and raiment; but I fancy ninety-nine out of every hundred persons, when the question is whether the labourer be well or ill off; will first ask, *How is he fed?* This is, indeed, the great matter; for what is life unless there be a sufficiency of food to prevent the body from being wasted by want? Yet, you will not argue the question on this ground! You will not "condescend" to think any thing

about the relative quantity of food of the parties. Now, I deem this the first thing of all; and I am certain that no sincere man that knows any thing of the situation of the parties will deny, that a West India slave has twice as much wholesome sustenance; as is received, on an average, by an English labourer arrived at man's estate; and that he has this, too, for performing about a tenth part of the labour performed, upon an average, by an English labourer.

I wish you had gone into some detail; into some comparison, in this respect, between the treatment of our own White labourers and the labourers in the West Indies. If you had done this, you would have been committed to certain facts, which you now are not. However, let me ask you a few questions: Did you ever know Negroes in the West Indies fed upon so little as a *pound and a quarter of bread per day*, as the poor creatures in the Hundreds of Clavering and Loddon in Norfolk now are? Did you ever hear the Judges from the Bench in the West Indies describe, as the Judges here did the other day, the food of the labouring people to be bread or oatmeal? Did you ever know the Blacks in the West Indies to live in so wretched a manner as that of the Irish people, as described in Reports laid before the House of Commons? Did you, in short, ever know that hundreds and thousands of Blacks in the West Indies were *starved to death*? This last you *know* to have been the case in Ireland. You know that they were starving by thousands, while the ports of Ireland were crowded with ships, carrying away the meal and the corn

None of my questions can you answer in the affirmative; and yet they can all be answered in the affirmative as applicable to this kingdom. To the last question, however, I wish to hold you a little longer; for, though I do not question the *right* of Mr. Galway MARTIN to come over to England to discover his *humanity* in protecting the horses and asses from unnecessary flogging; though I do not question his *right* to do this, I must confess that I question the correctness of his taste, as long as he and every body else sees going on in his own country, scenes like that at Skibbereen. He that can, unmoved see a human throat cut, and, the next minute swoon at the sight of a dying fly, may be a wonderfully sensitive person; but he is no man for me. If I were bent upon protecting the backs of English horses and asses, I would, if I were an Irishman, see an end to scenes like that of Skibbereen; and while millions of my wretched country people were perishing with hunger and cold, I would not go into another country in search of objects of compassion.

I stick, therefore, to my question: Did you ever know hundreds of West India Blacks to die for want of food? You will say that this has happened but *once* in Ireland. Deaths are continually taking place in all parts of the kingdom from want of food. The wretched man, woman, and three children at LODDON and CLAVERING, sentenced to live on tenpence a day; these wretched beings must, necessarily, die by inches. But, allow there to have been but this *one instance* of starvation; still, can you find me one instance of such starvation amongst

the West India Blacks? And if you can find no such instance, are not the Blacks better off than the people of Ireland? It is not in the *warmth* of argument, as you call it; but in sober seriousness, that I say, that the Negro slaves are better off than the labourers of this country. You choose to overlook the grand article of food; but this is because you never were hungry. You never knew what it was to have less food than was necessary for you. No idea do you seem to have of the sufferings of those millions of poor creatures, who, in this kingdom, creep nightly to their miserable straw, tormented with hunger and with cold. The man who is well fed; that is to say, the mere labouring man, is seldom unhappy, his wants are very few. Food is the first and principal want. In the case of the Negro, clothing and lodging are matters of little moment; seeing that he can never suffer from cold; so that, in this case, the article of food is every thing, unless, indeed, you could show, that the Negroes were *overworked*; a thing which you have not even attempted.

Let us see, then, upon what ground it is that you resent and affect to be indignant, at this assertion of the West Indians, that these slaves are as well or better off than "our British peasantry." "A Briton to compare the state of a West Indian slave with that of an *English freeman*, and to give the former the preference! It is to imply an utter insensibility of the *native feelings* and *moral dignity* of man, no less than of the rights of "Englishmen!!" Why not put *three marks of admiration*? one

of these is, however, I suppose, to represent *native feelings*, and the other, *moral dignity*. Why not talk about an *Irish* freeman, as well as an English freeman? But, I will proceed, and we will by-and-by see what this English freeman really is. "I will not condescend to argue this question, as I might, on the ground of comparative *feeding* and *clothing*, and *lodging*, and *medical attendance*. Are these the only claims? are these the chief privileges of a rational and immortal being? Is the consciousness of *personal independence* nothing? are *self-possession* and *self-government* nothing? Is it of no account that our *persons* are *inviolable* by any *private* authority, and that the whip is placed only in the hands of the *public executioner*? Is it of no value that we have the power of pursuing the *occupation* and the *habits of life* which we prefer; that we have the prospect, or at least the hope, of improving our condition, and of rising, as we have seen others rise, from poverty and obscurity, to comfort, and opulence, and distinction? Again, are all the *charities of the heart*, which arise out of the domestic relations, to be considered as nothing; and, I may add, all their security too among men who are free agents, and not vendible chatties, liable continually to be *torn from their dearest connections*, and sent into a *perpetual exile*? Are husband and wife, parent and child, terms of no meaning? Are willing services, or grateful returns for voluntary kindnesses,

nothing? But, above all, is *Christianity* so little esteemed among us, that we are to account as of no value the hope, *'full of immortality,'* the *light of heavenly truth*, and all the consolations and supports by which religion *cheers the hearts* and elevates the principles, and dignifies the conduct of multitudes of our *labouring classes* in this *free and enlightened country*? Is it nothing to be taught that *all human distinctions will soon be at an end*; that all the labours and sorrows of poverty and hardship will soon exist no more; and to know, on the express authority of Scripture, that the *lower classes*, instead of being an *inferior order* in the creation, *are even the preferable objects of the love of the Almighty!*"

This was your grand push. You seem to chuckle, and to hug yourself in the thought of the execution that it would produce. "There," you seem to have said, "get that out of their soft heads, if you can." Let us take this frago, then, a bit at a time, and see what it is made of.

With heavenly food you would feed our labourer, abundantly; but as to the food of this present life, you leave him to get that as he can. The close of this passage, shows us, the length to which fanaticism or hypocrisy carries you, and what wild work it must be if the lives and properties of men are to be sported with in such a way. Unable to deny, that the West India slave is as well fed, and even better fed than the average of our own labourers, you resort to various other things of value, which, according to you,

our labourers possess, and which the West India Black does not possess. Now, in the first place; all that you say with regard to moral and religious enjoyments have little or no application to the case of the Black. He knows nothing of these enjoyments; he knows nothing of property or political rights, any more than does the cane that he cultivates. You harp exceedingly upon the relationships of husband and wife, of parent and child; but what gross misrepresentation it is to seem to take it for granted that these relationships ever did exist amongst these Blacks! Take, indeed, a man and woman (Blacks); who have been brought up amongst White people, and have contracted, in a great measure, their habits and way of thinking; take these people and treat them as the slaves in general are treated, and the cruelty would deserve any degree of punishment. It is unjust and cruel to separate those of the common slaves that are known to be much attached to each other. I would have no fellowship with a man that I knew to be guilty of such an act; but such acts will seldom be committed: the natural justice of the master would, generally, be against it, and if he were destitute of justice, his interest would be sufficient to restrain him; because it necessarily must be, that slaves, thus forcibly separated, become of less value, in consequence of the separation.

Your object is to draw the public away from the real truth, by speaking of the Blacks as subject to all the pains which English people would feel, if treated as the Blacks are. This is not the

way that these reason who provide punishments for poachers and trespassers. They do not, in providing those punishments, proceed upon the supposition that a hedger or a carter has all the feelings of a lord. Had you acted fairly you would have told your readers that these Blacks have no idea of "independence," of moral conduct, or of any of those things; the want of the enjoyment of which, you represent as such a hardship. It can be no hardship; it can be no cause of suffering; not to possess a thing of which one has never had an idea.

All these fine things, therefore, enumerated in the passage that I have just quoted, amount to nothing: they are not all worth one single mouthful of bread. A labourer with his belly full of good food, and without ever having heard of any of these, is a million times better off than one, who thinks he ought to possess them all, who possesses hardly any of them, and whose belly is not full. I think I hear you exclaim, "What! is Christianity so little esteemed amongst us, that we are to account as, of no value; the hope full of immortality, the light of heavenly truth, and all the consolation and supports by which religion cheers the hearts, and elevates the principles and dignifies the conduct, of multitudes of our own labouring classes in this free and enlightened country?" Oh! yes, Christianity is of a great deal of value; and when you tell us what you mean by Christianity, I shall be ready to discuss any proposition for the teaching of it to the Blacks; but you never tell us what you mean by Christianity.

In the course of your pamphlet you are led, incidentally to state that that marriage, which you so much wish to see take place amongst the Blacks, has never been encouraged; and has never taken place, except amongst the Roman Catholic slaves. In another part of your pamphlet, you speak of the manumission of slaves by their masters "which has been provided for, with so much true humanity, by the laws in force in the Spanish Colonies." Why, then, do you talk to us of the Missionaries which have been sent out into our colonies? Why do you praise them, when it is notorious that they hold these Roman Catholics to be idolaters? There is no knowing what you mean by religion, and especially by religious truth. If these Roman Catholics preach truth, your Missionaries preach falsehood. Indeed no man can tell what you mean by the word religion or by the word Christianity. In this country there is misery enough arising from the rant and cant carried on by those bands of blackguards which prowl about the country, calling themselves Ministers of the Gospel. Even here, families are thrown into confusion by them; parents and children, husbands and wives are set to quarrelling. Innumerable are the instances in which insanity has proceeded from gloominess, engendered by the ravings of these crafty seekers after food and clothing produced by the labour of others. If such be the case here; if here amongst a people really enlightened, generally speaking, insanity, acts of suicide, and even acts of murder are

produced by the rantings of these men, what must be the consequence of their being suffered to work upon the minds of the Blacks? The Colonial Assemblies have many things, many dangers to guard against; but of all the dangers, this is the greatest; and I, if I were a Governor of one of the islands, I would keep out such Missionaries, as resolutely as I would keep out the plague. It appears to me that they must do mischief in many cases, and that they cannot possibly do good in any case whatever.

With respect to these religion mongers in the colonies; these religious friends of the Blacks, there is another observation to make, which is, that, of all the enemies of freedom in England, none have been so steady as these pretenders to religion. This should not be forgotten by the people of the whole kingdom. Names always do much; and the people of this country, naturally listen with attention and partiality to any one who professes to be the friend of freedom. We, who have been and are so oppressed ourselves, naturally incline towards those who express their detestation of oppression. Hence the "friends of the Blacks" have always met with a great deal of support amongst the friends of liberty at home, who have cordially joined them, in their hostility against the West India planters and merchants. I am, I believe, almost the only Reformer who has not, first or last, given his support, or, at least, his countenance, to these meddling hypocrites. Of late, indeed, the people of this country; (and, perhaps, owing in some sort, to

my efforts) have been rather more cautious in this respect. It was high time to begin to be cautious, when we saw, that, without a single exception, every one of this band was a foe to our liberties. From boroughmongers and their immediate satellites, we had to expect hostility; from others, which I shall not now name, we had also to expect it; but the hostility the most strongly marked with malignity came from those who preached up the liberty of the Blacks as called for by religion. For forty years you have been making a figure as the friend of the freedom of the Blacks. During that time more than forty Acts of Parliament have been passed placing additional shackles upon the press. Game laws, trespass laws, laws taking away Trial by Jury, laws investing the Government with absolute powers to imprison; new Treason Laws; scores and scores of laws, inflicting the penalty of death, in cases which our forefathers considered not worthy of any punishment at all. These laws have been passed, and to every one of them there has been the hearty assent of every pretended friend of the Blacks, if he were in a situation to give such assent. The harder, the more severe the law, the better it seemed to please this description of persons. The nation is now staggering along under the consequences of a struggle against the liberties of White men; and those consequences it owes in no small degree to the pretended friends of the Blacks, who constantly made use of the reputation which they had acquired as advocates of freedom to second each successive

Minister in all his attacks upon freedom, and all his wars and expenses for the purpose of crushing it. It was curious to behold these friends of Black freedom; these lovers of liberty for Christ's sake, as they called it, always dropping in to carry through the Minister at a dead lift. I have no acquaintance with West India merchants and planters. I do not know that I have spoken to one, or even seen one, for more than eleven years. The West Indians, whom I was acquainted with, about twenty years ago and more, were principally French. If I had been acquainted with West Indians of late years, there are several things which I would have advised them to do, only a part of which, if done, would have prevented the present dangers to their property; but, there is one thing, which I advise them to do now; and that is, to get some one to give us a brief, nice, neat history of your public life; of all your workings as to the Slave Trade and slavery; of all your votes upon that subject; and, also, of all your votes with regard to measures touching the liberties and lives of Englishmen! A little work like this, the bulk of a little half-crown book, printed and distributed at the expense of the West India body, would, ultimately, save them millions. After all, there must be some sort of an appeal made to the people of England on this question. They cannot enter into the merits of the case in detail. The subject-matter is at too great a distance. The people at large cannot be made acquainted with it all; but, if they were to see upon a few pages, the whole of what you have

done for them; if they could see how curiously it has happened that you could be standing up for the liberties of the Blacks, during every Administration, while you supported every Administration in Acts diminishing the liberties of the Whites; if they were to see this, the question, as far as they had any thing to do with it, would be settled. On one page they would see that, on such a day, you advocated the cause of the Negroes; and on another page they would see, on the day after, you advocated the cause of the Manchester Magistrates. There would need nothing more than this to enable the people of England to make up their minds upon the question. If they went further (which would not be necessary), they would find, at every step, a proof of the justice of their decision.

Leaving you now to hug yourself upon the effects of your cant about religion, let me ask you what you mean by the self-possession and *self-government*, which you say, the labourers in England possess. It is very easy to cant in this way. It is very easy to talk about being torn from dearest connexions, and sent into perpetual exile; but, as to self-possession and self-government now, do you pretend to be ignorant that thousands of men have been and will be again taken by press-gangs, put on board of ship, carried away from parents, wives, and children, flogged if they disobey the most trifling command, hanged if they mutiny or escape and are captured? Do you know nothing of other thousands upon thousands, who, under the name of militia-man, are forced from

their homes, parents, wives, and children, who are flogged if they refuse to stay, and, perhaps shot? Why, then, what becomes of your theory? What becomes of your pretences about self-possession and self-government?

You talk about the person being inviolate by any private authority, and the whip being in the hands of none but the public executioner. You are a gentleman of nice discrimination. For my part, I am not so nice, in this respect, and should care very little, whether the Squire laid the whip on himself, or had it done by his gamekeeper or bailiff, or whether my back were to have the honour of bleeding under the hand of a constable or a turnkey. The West India planter, seldom, I dare say, lays the lash on himself. You say that it is some robust Negro that is selected for the purpose. With us, in some cases, it is a series of drummers who perform the business, *ex officio*. They are the *public executioners*, to be sure; and this is, I suppose, the reason why we never heard of your coming forward, even with a single word, to assist in the abolishing of this mode of punishment.

But, you will say, it is for some offence that these whippings are inflicted upon the Whites. And you will take your oath to the contrary a great many times, before any man in England will believe that the Negroes are whipped for no offence at all; or, at least, without an *alleged* offence; and that is as far as we go in our knowledge as to the Whites that have the misfortune to get whipped. Talk not, therefore, to us of the *degradation* of the Blacks, until you let us see some effort of

Y;

yours to prevent the degradation of the Whites. You complain that the laws made to govern the Blacks, are made by *their masters* only. Are the laws which authorize the pressing, the drafting, and the flogging of the Whites made by those Whites? Or are they made by those whose lands and goods the pressed and drafted men are called forth to defend? Recollect, Sir, the hundreds of thousands of men that have been taken in this way, forced from their families and friends, sent to foreign lands, compelled to risk their lives in all manner of ways, and liable to the lash all the while, if they misbehave. I am not saying whether it be right or wrong to make use of this compulsion; but this I say, that I never heard of your saying that it was wrong; and that being the case, I have a right to question your sincerity, when you make matter of heavy complaint a degree of suffering on the part of the Blacks not a tenth part equal in amount.

Black degradation indeed! and the "*self-government*" and all the "*charities of the heart*," enjoyed by the labourers of England! What, then, you never saw Englishmen, "*English freemen*;" you never saw any of these at gravel-cart, actually drawing, like horses, two abreast, having the parish officer for a driver? You never saw English paupers at work in gangs? You never saw the pauper in Sussex at work with a *bill round his neck*? You never were at one of those auctions, perhaps, where the labourers are brought and *knocked down to the highest bidder*? How does this differ from the Negro sales in Jamaica?

There are two differences: the first is, that, in Jamaica and Virginia and Carolina, and other Black slave marts, the sales are *in fee*, or for a certain length of time; whereas, at the White auctions, they are never in fee, and only for a certain period. Another difference is, that the purchaser of the Black is interested in preserving his life and health, and is, therefore, likely to feed him and treat him well; whereas, the purchaser of the time of the White has no such interest in his life and health, and is, therefore, likely to give him as little food, and to get out of him as much work as he can.

In one part of your pamphlet you say, that to describe the conduct of the masters in the colonies and the state of the slaves in consequence of that conduct, is "*painful to me*;" but that it ought not, on that account, to be left out of view. It is painful to me, also, to make this exhibition of the state of the Whites in England; but I say with you, that it ought not, on that account, to be left out of view. Which do you choose, then, as a complete specimen of your "*English freeman*?" Is it the man carried away by the press-gangs? Is it the militia-man in the Isle of Ely? Is it the English freeman with a rope round his breast, drawing a gravel-cart? Is it the English freeman of Sussex, where, by the by, reside those Wymondams who draw such immense sums from the Slave Colonies; is it the Sussex freeman, at work with a *bill about his neck*, being the fore one of the team, or the leader of the gang? Which of these is it you choose

for a specimen? Which of them is it that you select to hold up to the West India planters, by way of contrast? Or, will you have neither of these, and will you take the poor half-starved creature, with scarcely a rag upon his carcass, with his feet tied up in bits of sack, his legs twisted round with bay-hands; is it this wretched skeleton, standing trembling at the workhouse before the auctioneer; is it this poor soul actually perishing by inches with hunger, that you mean to produce, and, in your exulting humanity, bid the Planter of Jamaica bring up to a level with him; bring up to this state of "*moral dignity*," a fat and lazy Negro that laughs from morning to night!

I feel a degree of indignation that is impossible for me to express, when I see an Englishman thus dead to the sufferings, the indescribable sufferings, the real torments, of half the nation, while he flies to the West Indies to find out objects of compassion amongst a body of persons, who suffer less I verily believe, in body as well as in mind, than any other labourers of the same number, in any part of the world. It might become almost a question of sanity or of insanity, when speaking of the cause of a pamphlet like yours, at a time like this. You must have read, because we have all read, in the public papers, of a shipment, now actually making for Buenos Ayres from Ireland. Here is the real *White Slave Trade* going on, under your eyes! The slaves are, it is said, to be free, at the end of seven years, when they are to have some land allotted them! He must be a great impostor, indeed, who pretends to believe, that

it is not ten to one, that the whole of them will be dead before the seven years have expired. However, here is a people selling themselves into bondage: here is a transportation for seven years of hundreds of persons to avoid starvation in their own country, while that country is, at the same time, maintaining a great standing army within itself, and exporting immense quantities of provisions. You belong to the Legislature of this country. Can you find out nothing to change this state of things? Can you suggest no means of bettering the lot of these unhappy creatures, to watch over whose welfare you have voluntarily undertaken? You are not a Member of Parliament by compulsion. The Bramberites have not compelled you to serve in Parliament. You have, in fact, sought the office. It seems, therefore, natural enough to request you to find out some means of softening the slavery of the Irish people; of diminishing their wretchedness; of preventing them from fleeing from their native land, and selling themselves into bondage, under the burning sun of Buenos Ayres; it seems natural enough to expect you to do this before you undertake to correct the errors and supply the omissions of the Colonial Assemblies.

I could dwell much longer on this comparison between the states of the two sets of labourers, the Black and the White; but, not to make my letter too long, I shall content myself with noticing the two remarkable instances which you cite, of the cruelty of the laws relative to the Blacks, and of their ill treatment.

It has, from the very beginning, in or about the year 1785 or 1786; it has been the constant practice to exaggerate, in the most outrageous manner, whenever, the conduct of the masters, or the sufferings of the slaves were spoken of. One mode of exaggeration has been, to state, not what was in itself false, but to state it as something *frequently occurring*, when, perhaps, it never occurred but once. This is precisely what you have done here.

You relate a story of the murder of a lately imported African in Barbadoes. The story is this: A Planter had bought a young Negro recently from Africa. The Negro wandered away, and got in amongst some canes belonging to another Planter; this Planter, in company with another, each having his gun, called to the Negro to come out. The Negro, in place of coming out, ran away, and hid in the cleft of a rock, he not understanding English, which, however, the Planters did not know. They could not get at him easily in this cleft; and, therefore, the barbarous wretches got some broken canes, set fire to them, and put them into the crevices of the rock behind him. The poor creature being burnt in this way, ran out of the cleft, and plunged into a pool of water close by. They sent a Negro to pull him out, and he threw a stone at the Negro, upon which the two White men fired at him several times, wounded him most dreadfully with their shot, while the Negroes pelted him with stones. The White savages ordered the Negroes to dig a grave, had him dragged out of the pool, and put

into the grave; and, you add, there seems to be some doubt whether he was then quite dead. You observe that the perpetrators deny this charge; but that, there is reason to believe it to be true.

Now, horrible as this story is, there can be little doubt of its truth, seeing that it was the subject of a letter from the Governor of the Colony to the Secretary of State, and the subject of a report from the Attorney-General of the Colony to the Governor. It is highly laudable to express one's indignation at so atrocious a deed, the perpetrators of which, ought to have been named in your pamphlet, that public execration might have reached them if they be still alive.

But, you do not seem to be aware of the danger of attempting to construe this into a proof of the *general cruelty of the Colonists*, or of the unfitness of the General Assemblies to make laws to govern the Negroes. You ask, in a triumphant tone; after having observed that the death, or, rather, the killing of the Negro, appear to have produced little indignation in the owner, except as it affected his own interest; after observing that the master, when he had reason to believe that a Negro had been killed, and not that it was his own slave, went away satisfied; after observing this, you ask, "Is there a human being, who, in this country, would have so done?" You are exulting too soon!

It is curious that the story says, that these two murdering Whites being informed, that there was a Negro lurking in the gully, went with loaded muskets and took several Negro men with them. Now

mark: not many weeks have passed over our heads, since the public prints informed us, that an Irish 'Squire, who was represented to be one of the most humane men in Ireland, shot a man, who was his own servant, and killed him, in his shrubbery. The story was this: The 'Squire saw or heard a man, *lurking* in his shrubbery. He called for his guns. A friend and some servants, ran out to him with the guns, and a hunt began after the "*lurking fellow*." By-and-by the 'Squire gets the glimpse of a running man. He takes him to be the "*lurking fellow*." He shoots him, kills him, and finds him to be his own servant. But what follows? Thus far the Barbadoes story and the Irish story bear a pretty strict resemblance. Here is not, in Ireland, the aggravated circumstance of putting a fire into the cleft of a rock. However, here is the most wanton destruction of human life. Here is a 'Squire shooting a man, with just as little ceremony as he would shoot a fox or a wolf, the only charge against the killed man being that he was *lurking* in the 'Squire's shrubbery. What followed, then, this killing of a man in Ireland? We have seen what followed the killing of the poor Negro in Barbadoes: we find the Attorney-General of the Colony, Mr. BECKLES, making a report to the Governor. We find the Governor, Lord SEAFORTH, writing to the Secretary of State on the subject, and expressing his horror and indignation at the act; we find the matter brought before the Colonial Assembly, and an Act we find proposed to be passed to prevent the like in future. This Act appears not to have passed but

still great indignation appears to have been excited towards the deed.

How different! alas! The feelings excited by the killing of the *lurking fellow* in Ireland. A Coroner's Inquest takes place upon the body of the servant that was killed; and the verdict is (hear it not ye Colonial Assemblies!); the verdict is "ACCIDENTAL DEATH, being killed in *mistake for the lurking fellow*." So that, if it had been the *lurking fellow* himself, all of course would have been right! We have heard of no representations of this case from the Attorney-General to the Lord-Lieutenant. We have heard of no representation from the Lord-Lieutenant to the Secretary of State. The whole nation have read the horrible tale. It has been circulated through all the numerous newspapers; and, so far from having excited any portion of indignation, the statement has invariably been accompanied with a high eulogium on the gentleness and humanity of the 'Squire, who, according to his own statement, or, at any rate, according to the statement made in his behalf, killed a man because he was *lurking* in his shrubbery.

Thus you see, Sir, you should always look at home, before you look so very sharply abroad. You are, as I observed before, in consequence of your own voluntary offer, a legislator for the Irish nation. Would this "*lurking*" fellow, if alive, not have as good a claim to your protection as the "*lurking*" Negro of Barbadoes? Yet, and I beg leave to press this point, not a word have I ever heard you say, about these deeds in Ireland.

Now, as to the main point, as to the fitness or unfitness of the Assemblies to make laws for the government of the Negro slaves, what do we gather from these two cases, from these two instances of wanton barbarity? We gather this, that there are cruel men in both the countries; but we do not gather, that such deeds are frequent in either country. God knows the House of Commons wants reforming; but I am not too unjust as to suppose, that any considerable portion of the Members of that House, or, indeed, that any one of them would attempt to apologize for this barbarous act in Ireland. Yet I must do this: I must condemn this whole Parliament on account of this act; I must insist that the commission of this act proves the unfitness of the Parliament to make laws to govern the mass of the people, I must do this, or else it is impossible for me to draw the same conclusion with regard to the Assembly at Barbadoes.

The other topic, alluded to above, as so much dwelt on by you, and the last that I shall notice, is, that relating to the laws of impunity passed by the several Assemblies. You notice particularly a law of Barbadoes which says, that, "If any Negro or other slave, under punishment by his master, or by his order, for running away, or for any other crimes or misdemeanors towards his said master, unfortunately shall suffer in life or member, which seldom happens, no persons whatever shall be liable to any fine therefore."

This appears to be a law perfectly horrible. Yet, as you wrote

your pamphlet within the present year, you ought to have recollected, that a soldier (and mark the similarity of situation), who had been a *servant to the officers of a regiment*, and who, while he was their servant, was charged with, and tried and flogged for, stealing something from them; that this soldier, according to the verdict of a *Coroner's Inquest*, suffered in life; that is to say, was killed by, or died in consequence of, that flogging. This is notorious. This happened last year. This happened in England. The facts were all stated in the whole of the public prints, in which the names of persons and places were stated, and in which all the evidence was detailed. A long Session of Parliament has passed since, without the slightest mention of the matter! Allow this to be proper; allow impunity to be necessary in a case like this; but, then, you will find it difficult, I believe, to show the inhumanity or the injustice of that impunity which you so much complain of.

As I said before, you are a person of extremely nice discrimination. It would seem, either that you have a back, or that you think others have, to think nothing of a whipping, unless it come from some one in a private capacity. But, a killing! you, surely cannot think, that death is at all sweetened by its coming from persons in authority. The Negro, if he die, in receiving his punishment for any crime or misdemeanor against his master, is to lose his life, without bringing punishment of any kind upon any one concerned in the act by which he loses his life. Now, Sir, in

the year 1819, and on the 24th December of that year, you assisted in passing an Act of Parliament, to take from the people of England the right which they and their forefathers had always up to that time enjoyed, of meeting publicly for the purpose of discussing questions relating to public matters: This Act authorizes Justices of the Peace to order any such Meetings to disperse. In case of their not dispersing, it authorizes the Justice and those under his command to seize those persons who do not disperse; after which comes the following clause: "And be it further enacted; that if the persons assembled at any Meeting or Assembly held contrary to the provisions of this Act, or any of them shall happen to be **KILLED, maimed or hurt**, in the dispersing or endeavouring to disperse, or in arresting or apprehending or detaining them, that every such Justice of the Peace, Sheriff, Under Sheriff, Mayor, High Constable, Petty Constable, or other Peace Officer, shall be *free, discharged and indemnified*, of, for or concerning the *killing, maiming or hurting* of any such person or persons!"

Need I say a word more? Need I again caution you against making such a dreadful outcry, against the Colonial Assemblies? You were present at the passing of this Act. The Parliamentary reports say that you spoke for and voted for, the passing of this Act. I do not blame you for so doing. I am to suppose that you acted agreeably to your conscience; but if I adopt that supposition, how am I to join you, in your impetu-

tions against the Colonial Assemblies? Are the lives of Englishmen less precious than the lives of the Blacks, or is there more danger in those Englishmen, whom you call so enlightened; is there more danger in their being permitted to meet for the purpose of petitioning those who call themselves their representatives; is there more danger in this than there is in suffering slaves to run away from their masters, or to commit other crimes or misdemeanors against them?

This Act of Assembly you do, however, seem to look upon as proof conclusive, against the Assemblies; and you say, indeed, that the "*bare statement of the fact, must shock every liberal mind.*" When you said this, you had, in all probability, forgotten the Act that I have just quoted. But had you not also forgotten the still more memorable affair of the 16th August? In that case, there was no law existing to prevent the meeting of the people. Several had been killed, and hundreds had been wounded, petitions were presented to the House of Commons, calling for inquiry into the conduct of those who had authorized the killing and wounding. The proposition was not to censure the conduct of any body, it was to inquire into the conduct of those, under whose orders, several lives were taken, and the maiming of about five hundred persons committed. So much killing and maiming, have, probably, not taken place, in any one of the West India Islands, for the last half century, as took place, at the Town of Manchester, on the single day of the sixteenth of August. Dreadful as was the

deed, no one was bold enough to call upon the House for censure on any one. It was humbly prayed, to inquire into the circumstances of killing and wounding so many persons. The House refused to inquire. The report says that you were one of those who strongly pressed it to give that refusal; and this the reporter gives us as the reason, for your conduct upon that occasion:

"With respect to the transactions at Manchester on the 16th August, he (Mr. WILBERFORCE), felt as deeply concerned at the circumstances of that unfortunate day as any gentleman possibly could; but, if he asked himself *how the peace of the country* was to be preserved, the answer must be, that if the House assented to any such motion as the present, and thus *sanctioned the proceedings of those bad men*, who wished to produce anarchy and confusion, it would be the means of creating more discord and bloodshed, than any other measure that could possibly be devised!"

Curious logic! How would the proceedings of the *bad men* be sanctioned by merely *inquiring* into the conduct of the parties? However, it is not my business, at present, to dwell upon this, and these words, might, in fact, not be yours. Still, it is certain, that you opposed the inquiry; and there can be little doubt that you did it upon the ground stated in this report; namely, that if inquiry were gone into; if the House, even so far as that seemed to lean with the Reformers, with the enemies of all abominable corruption and seat-selling; if the House went only that far; went

only so far as to inquire, it would be the *means of creating discord and bloodshed*.

Say, then, that this was all right: say that this was agreeable to your conscience; say, if you please, that *humanity* dictated the speech and the vote. But, do not rail, then, against the Colonial Assemblies, because they will suffer no punishment to be inflicted on masters, who chance to kill their slaves, while punishing them for crimes or misdemeanors. We say that the people at Manchester had committed no crime, nor misdemeanor; we say that they were only exercising a right, always heretofore exercised by their forefathers and themselves. They were not brought together, at any rate, to be punished for crimes and misdemeanors. If, in the actual commission of a crime, was their punishment to be death or maiming? After all, inquiry only was asked for, as to the cause of shedding so much human blood; and you, who were against that inquiry, lest the seeming indulgence should lead to confusion and bloodshed, now speak with horror of the Assembly at Barbadoes because it does not punish (not inquire into, mind), but because it does not *punish*, the accidental killing or maiming of a Negro slave, while under punishment for acknowledged crimes or misdemeanors!

Here I should stop, being quite satisfied that nothing more is necessary to show the hollowness and insincerity, or the gross folly of all your allegations respecting the laws of the colonies and the treatment of the slaves; but, there is a view of this subject much more important than any

that you have chosen to take of it. The questions which you have raised, lie between master and slave; but you have left unnoticed the question which presents itself to every man of reflection; namely, whether these colonies shall remain to assist in preserving the power of England; or, whether they shall go to add to the power of the *United States, France and Russia*. It requires a much sounder head than that which is upon your shoulders, to determine whether the sum of human misery has been at all augmented by the carrying of Blacks from Africa to America. Being in America, it is a question not to be decided on in haste, whether even a gradual and what is called a safe manumission would be beneficial to the Blacks themselves. No just man will doubt of the propriety of giving as much security as possible to the Blacks; of making their lives as easy and comfortable as possible, consistent with the safety of the Whites and the peace of the community. But, when you talk of giving them their freedom; when you talk of making them members of a community of which the Whites make a part, the grossest of ignorance, or the worst species of insincerity, must be seated on your pen. In several of the States of North America, slavery has been abolished by law. The Negroes are as free as the Whites. I remember only one white woman, married, not to a black, but to a mulatto. If she had been notoriously infected with the plague, she could not have been more shunned by white people; and it is notorious, that the lowest creature of a white man will never condescend to sit him-

self down at the table with a black. If this be the case, thirty years after the abolition of slavery, and that, too, amongst a people so hospitable, so humane, and withal so little inclined to aristocratical pride and distinction, is it any thing short of downright madness, to think of mixing up the Blacks and Whites of Jamaica to form one common community of free-men?

The perverseness of that faction which has so long been basely seeking for popularity by hypocritical professions of compassion for the Blacks; this perverseness is proof against all reason and all facts. There can be no sincerity in this faction, or it must begin to doubt, and to grow cautious upon, looking at the *colonising* project of the State of Pennsylvania. You affect not to know, that the State of Pennsylvania, has *attempted to get rid of its free Blacks* by inducing them to submit to be conveyed to Africa! The colony was actually begun, and it exists now, for any thing that I know to the contrary. Pennsylvania is the great hold of the *friends of the Blacks*; in Pennsylvania the Blacks have been freed. Scarcely a fiftieth part of Pennsylvania is, as yet, in a state worthy of being called cultivation. The lands and woods and rivers all call aloud for hands. Emigrants arrive from England, Scotland, Germany, Switzerland, and, above all, from Ireland. They are all received with open arms, each being looked upon as an addition to the riches of the State. Indeed, what can be so certain as that the owners of the land of a country, will rejoice at the arrival of hands and mouths in

that country? Yet, strange to relate, in this very State of Pennsylvania, large funds have been raised to induce the Blacks of that state to suffer themselves to be banished to Africa. Some have actually been banished thither; but the main body of the Blacks have protested against such banishment; and, if the Whites please, they would prefer staying to sleep by day and thieve by night, in Pennsylvania, where they have given a practical illustration of their notions of liberty, by taking, when they please, the property of whomsoever they please, which is not too hot to be held, or too heavy to be carried.

In short, the man who is unconvinced by this state of things in Pennsylvania; the man who, with this example before his eyes, thinks that in our colonies there can exist a community of Whites and of free Blacks, is a man not to be reasoned with. Of what avail, then, the projects about educating the Blacks, to which it seems the Government itself has lent an ear? Will the teachings of Missionaries make the Blacks more happy, or repine less at their lot? Is it possible for any man of sense to believe that any thing like book learning can be given to the Blacks; that they can possibly be admitted to the enjoyment of civil rights, without which, nevertheless, it is madness to talk of education? The fact is, that the teachers will become the masters of the colonies; and, as in the case of St. Domingo, loss of the colonies, must be the consequence.

You disregard this loss. I do not. Sufficiently critical are the

foreign affairs of this country at this time, without voluntarily running into additional danger. The other day; only just three days ago, the *Morning Chronicle* told us, that the *importation of cotton from Buenos Ayres had been doubled*, since that country became independent of Spain. I beg you to mark this. Last night the Courier informs us, that the United States had, after all, **DECLINED TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE INDEPENDENCE OF BUENOS AYRES!** A hundred times over we have been assured that they had acknowledged that independence! But, you will say, what has this to do with the educating project in our West India Colonies? It has this to do with it, that it tends strongly to confirm my opinion as to the conduct of the United States with regard to the Spanish Colonies on the Main; that, in spite of the soft and the silly boarding-school talk of your friend Mr. CANNING, at Liverpool, here is pretty nearly proof positive that the United States is now preparing to act in concurrence with France, Spain and Russia; with regard to those Spanish Colonies.

Back those Colonies will go, then, under the dominion of the Bourbons, or we must fight for it. Let which will take place of these two, in what a state shall we be with our West India islands shaken to their centre by the cabals and intrigues of popularity-hunting Saints and their representatives, those "*Christian Missionaries*," whose chief business, even according to your own statement, it will be to teach the Blacks that they are *greater favourites with God than their*

masters are; and that if they be beneath their masters in this world, they will be their *superiors* in the next; a doctrine which will naturally, and almost necessarily, produce, in the newly enlightened, a strong desire to *hasten* "a consummation so devoutly to be wished," and to take, on *this side* the grave, possession of power which so justly belongs to them.

Open rebellion the educating project must lead to; and such open rebellion, always *favoured*, observe, by the *United States*, must make our colonies, what St. Domingo now is. Plucked of those colonies, half a wing of England is gone; and though you may think nothing of that half wing, or of any thing that does not immediately bring chink to the Exchequer, the country is not, I trust, prepared to resign itself to be a mere mart for exchanges and loans and funds, dependant on the mercy of its neighbours, its sword rammed in its sheath, with the coward's resolution of never drawing it again. I trust the country is not, again to be cajoled; and that the humanity for which it is so justly famed, is not to be so perverted by base and artful men as to make it conducive to its own disgrace and ruin.

WM. COBBETT.

STRAW PLAT.

My readers will hear with singular pleasure that the poor young man, the *cripple*, living in the village of BENENDEN, in Kent, whom I mentioned in the account of my ride into that county, has arrived at such perfection in the

plaiting and knitting of straw, that he is now making bonnets, for ladies of rank, and I am told, at so high a price as *five pounds each*. A school is about to be established in the village, where he is to teach the children to perform this work. There is a young woman gone by the coach this day to WETTERSHAM, near Tonterden in Kent, where a most worthy and public spirited man has provided a pretty large parcel of grass straw. She comes from the establishment of Messrs. COBBING, BARNETT and CLARKE, of Bury St. Edmund's. — She is to teach the children at WETTERSHAM. Her wages are to be good, and she is to be boarded and lodged in a respectable manner, which, be it observed, is no more than what she deserves. She is only about eighteen or nineteen years old; and she is to teach plaiting, knitting and the making up of bonnets. I said, at the beginning, that the people in Suffolk and Norfolk would take the lead in this valuable manufacture. They have done it; and it is really a great honour to the town of Bury St. Edmund's, that it is sending out teachers to instruct the rest of the country. — I have not room this week to put in the Advertisement of Messrs. Cobbing and Co. The Advertisement, however, I will observe, states that they *want apprentices!* We want nothing more than this to convince us that the thing is done! — I think it possible that the young man at BENENDEN may not, after all, go the readiest way about the knitting. And it must be wonderful, indeed, if he knew how to join plat that is broken or cut asunder. If this should be

the case, and this poor cripple should be unable to go, or, rather, to be carried as far as WETTERSHAM, I am sure that the goodness of Mr. WOOD, at WETTERSHAM, will induce him to send the young woman over to BENENDEN, or to let her go over, if she should be sent for. It is merely ten minutes business to put him in the right way; and, I hope that no one, who has any thing to do in the promoting of this undertaking will suffer any narrow motive to prevail for one moment. There is to be a school at BENENDEN, and there will be somebody, I dare say, to make the young woman some little acknowledgment for her trouble.—Wonderful is the progress that has been made in this undertaking. It is spreading with almost the rapidity of light.—Mr. COBBING and his partners, ought to have the young women that they send out to teach, capable of going through the whole business, from the rough straw to the complete bonnet.—I would also advise them, not to sell their plat; but to have it made into bonnets, and not to think much about a sale of these till towards the latter end of February, and then to have them sold at one shop in London.—But now, comes the provision for next year, which it is time to think about.—The straw of grass seems to cost nothing; but it would be cheaper to raise the straw of wheat. The Italians sow, for this purpose, the *Spring* wheat, which the French call *Blé de Mars*. I believe there is none to be got in this country, though there used to be enough of it. I shall, however, go fully into this subject, in my next.

AMERICAN TREES.

I HAVE no room for what I wanted to say upon this subject. I must, however, say, that the trees, all except the Locusts, Walnuts, and Hickorys (and Apple-trees, of course), ought to be planted nicely in rows to form a little nursery for a couple of years. The Locusts, which form the principal part of the trees, may be planted out at once, where they are to stand.—Gentlemen who have sent orders for trees, will be so good as to recollect, how unlikely it is that we should be very expert at the taking up and packing up of trees. They will be so good, therefore, as to have a *little patience with us*. Of one thing they may be well assured; and that is, that nothing shall be sent in a manner to receive injury. I never suffer the root of a tree to be exposed to the open air one minute. The moment I receive a tree, I lay it by the heels in fine earth, and tread the earth down upon it. If the roots get once *pretty well dried*, it costs the tree a year's growth; and, perhaps, it never perfectly recovers it. I know of no tree so *thoroughly hardy* as the Locust; but even that suffers and greatly suffers, from the drying of its roots.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

To several Gentlemen who have written to me about trees, I will write as soon as I can, and, if I do not write, I beg them to be assured that it is solely from want of time, and not for want of inclination. Whenever they are disposed to be angry, on this account, let them reflect for one moment on what I have to do, or, rather, on what they see me do.—NEMO has my best thanks for his letter, and for his message, his letter shall be inserted next week.—A Gentleman

from Liverpool will go with the money to poor SWANN and his wife. I have his letter to say so; but I wish to give him some information before he goes, and I have not yet had time to write to him. He will receive my letter about next Wednesday, and SWANN may expect to see him about the Monday afterwards.—I mentioned some money received from Wales, for SWANN. It was thirty shillings; and I by all means wish to return it; because, as I said before, when the imprisonment of poor SWANN is terminated, I may think it right to call upon the Public again; and I think that the money which has now been so promptly and so generously subscribed, will be quite sufficient until the termination of the imprisonment.

GROSSE'S ANTIQUITIES.

Two sets of this Work, as far as relates to England and Wales, have been received, in consequence of the request made in my last Register. No other gentleman, therefore, need trouble himself to send me that work. I shall keep these two, because two persons ^{then} can be at work at the same time. The fact is, I am getting together materials for a complete Gazetteer, or Dictionary of the Cities, Towns, Villages, and so forth of this Kingdom of England, Scotland and Ireland; and I mean to get from Mr. Grosse the means of pointing out the local situations of the several subjects of his very valuable book. We have no work of this sort that is worth one farthing; so that I cannot, at any rate, fall short of other people in this undertaking.—I feel that I dare not send out this paragraph without telling the Public, that the *French Grammar* is *actually in the press, at last!* But, let it be recollected, that such a botheration sort of a thing goes through the press but slowly.

POSTSCRIPT.

THE Botanical names of my several Trees shall be given in the next Register. The Locust is one of the sorts of the Robinia (the name which the French gave to it), but the Americans give the name of Locust to only one of the sorts of the Robinia.—Once for all, let me say, that I would not accept of a plantation if any body would give it me, if the ground were not trenched.

MARKETS.

Average Prices of CORN throughout ENGLAND, for the week ending 29th November.

Per Quarter.	s.	d.
Wheat	51	4
Rye	31	10
Barley	28	8
Oats	21	0
Beans	37	3
Peas	34	9

Price of FLOUR, per sack of five bushels, or 280 lbs.—Monday.

Fine English or Household Flour	45s. to 50s.
Second ditto	40s. — 45s.
Norfolk and Stockton ..	38s. — 44s.
West Country	46s. — 50s.

Quarters of English Grain, &c. arrived Coastwise, from Dec. 1 to Dec. 6, inclusive.

Wheat.. 2,252	Pease	746
Barley.... 1,762	Tares	—
Malt	Linseed....	—
Oats.... 1,877	Rape	—
Rye	Brank	—
Beans..... 443	Mustard...	—

From Ireland.—Oats, 4,235 qrs.
Flour.—Essex, 160; Kent, 870; Stockton, 720; Yarmouth, 2,332.—
Total, 4,082 sacks.

Corn Exchange, Mark Lane.

Friday, Dec. 6.—Our supplies of Grain this week are very moderate. Fine Wheat and Malting Barley obtained last Monday's prices; the inferior sorts go off very slowly.—The Oat trade is dull, but not cheaper, for fine fresh Corn.—In Beans, Pease, and other articles, there is but little doing; prices may be quoted nearly the same as on last Monday.

Monday, Dec. 8.—Our arrivals of all kinds of Grain last week were very small.—This morning we had a tolerable supply of Wheat and Barley from Essex, Kent, and Suffolk.—Fine Wheat, both Old and New, was taken off by the millers at the early part of the market, at an advance of 1s. to 2s. per quarter on last Monday's prices; but there is no improvement in the sale of the inferior sorts.—Fine Malting Barley sold on much the same terms as last week; Grinding Barley was rather cheaper.—Beans and Pease met a better sale, at our last quoted prices.—The arrivals of English and Irish Oats being small, fine fresh Corn obtained last week's prices.

COUNTRY CORN MARKETS.

Dublin, Nov. 28.—White Wheat 22s. to 36s.; Red 22s. to 36s. per barrel of 20 stone.—Oats 16s. to 13s. per barrel of 14 stone.—Barley 17s. to 19s. per barrel of 16 stone.—Flour 20s. to 22s. per cwt.

Edinburgh, Dec. 3.—We had a middling supply of Wheat to-day, and a small one of all other kinds of grain: Wheat 33s. to 35s.—Barley 20s. to 25s. 6d.—Oats 17s. 6d. to 22s.—Pease 19s. to 21s.—Beans 19s. to 21s. per boll.

Glasgow, Nov. 27.—Our Corn market continues brisk, and considerable business has been done at our quotations. Wheat 23s. to 36s.

Oats 15s. to 21s.—Barley 22s. to 30s.—Beans 22s. to 25s.—Pease 21s. to 23s. per boll.

Liverpool, Dec. 2.—There has been a considerable falling off in the import of all descriptions of Grain since last Tuesday, nor has there been much doing in any article during that period. At to-day's market, which was not well attended by dealers, only the middling qualities of old Irish Wheat was saleable, and it barely maintained its price. New was very heavy sale, and somewhat lower. Barley continues scarce, and grinding is much wanted. The stock of old Oats is getting low; they, as well as Beans and Malt, support our former quotations. New Oats found few buyers, and were full 4d. per bushel lower, and Flour 2s. per pack. Oatmeal maintaining its price.—Wheat, English, 7s. 6d. to 9s. 9d. Ditto, Scotch, 8s. 6d. to 9s. 6d. Ditto, Irish, 7s. to 8s. 3d. per 70 lbs.—Barley, English, 4s. 9d. to 5s. 3d. per 36 quarts. Ditto, Irish, 4s. 6d. to 4s. 9d. per 60 lbs.—Oats, Potatoo (Irish) 3s. to 3s. 4d. per 45 lbs.—Malt 7s. 9d. to 9s. per 36 quarts.—Beans 37s. to 43s. per quarter.—Superfine Flour 41s. to 46s. per 40 lbs.

Leeds, Dec. 2.—There has been a better supply of new Wheat at market to-day, also a larger supply of Barley, and the supply of Oats has been fully adequate to the demand.—Beans and Pease come sparingly to market. Fine new and old Wheat has not varied in price, but the middling and inferior has been 1s. per quarter lower, Barley full 2s. per quarter lower, and at that reduction few sales have been effected. Oats 4d. per stone lower. Shelling 6d. per load lower. In other articles no alteration.

Hull, Dec. 2.—We had a limited supply of Grain last Tuesday, consequently the trade dull. Old Oats and Barley are scarce; and conti-

nue in request. New Oats and Barley did not meet free sale; the former scarcely supported prices of last week, and the latter was 1s. to 2s. per quarter cheaper. The stocks of old Corn in granary have materially diminished during the last month. Flour as last week. Wheat 44s. to 52s.—Barley 26s. to 31s.—Beans 39s. to 41s.—Oats, old, 22s. to 26s. Ditto new, 16s. to 22s.—Tares 46s. to 50s.—Pease, boiling, 38s. to 42s. per quarter.—Fine Flour 42s. to 45s. Second 37s. to 40s. per bag of 20 stone.

Wakefield, Dec. 5.—Owing to the late stormy weather, our arrivals are not so great as they otherwise would have been; and having a good attendance of buyers, fine new and old Wheats are ready sales at an advance of full 1s. per quarter each; no alteration in inferior samples.—The supply of Malting Barley being again large, the trade has ruled dull at a decline of 1s. to 2s. per quarter; in Grinding Barley no alteration.—Beans are scarce, at an advance of 1s. per quarter.—In Oats, Shelling, Malt, Flour, and Rape-seed, no alteration.—Old Wheat 46s. to 64s. per quarter. New ditto, South Country, 50s. to 54s. per 60 lbs. 54s. to 58s. per 61 lbs. per bushel. Ditto, Yorkshire and Lancashire 48s. to 52s. per 60 lbs.—Mealings Oats 12d. to 12½d. per stone of 14 lbs.—Shelling 31s. 6d. to 32s. per load of 261 lbs.—Barley, South, 31s. to 32s. Ditto, Lincolnshire, 28s. to 30s. Ditto, Yorkshire Wolds, 28s. to 30s.—Old and New Beans 42s. to 44s. per bushel of 63 lbs.—Maple Peas 38s. to 40s.—Flour 48s. to 50s. per sack of 280 lbs.

Norwich, Dec. 6.—Fine Wheat was in demand to-day at full as good price as last week; best dry samples readily obtained 50s. to 52s. Damp and ordinary, dull sale. Barley, a good supply; sale of the best not so free as preceding week at 26s. to 28s. per quarter.

Darlington, Dec. 3.—At our market on Monday last, we had a considerable supply of Wheat and other grain; prices steady. Old White Wheat 16s. New ditto 13s. 6d. to 14s. 6d. Old Red Wheat 15s. New ditto 11s. to 13s. 6d.—New Oats 5s. 4d. to 6s. Old ditto 8s.—Beans 10s. to 11s. 6d.—Peas 7s. 6d. to 8s.—Barley 7s. to 8s. per boll.]

Lincoln, Dec. 2.—New Wheat 44s. to 56s.—Oats 20s. to 21s.—Barley 29s. to 33s. per quarter.

Ipswich, Dec. 6.—At our market to-day we had a large supply of Wheat, but fine samples obtained last week's prices. Barley was a trifle lower.—Prices as follow:—Old Wheat 50s. to 60s. New ditto 45s. to 55s.—Barley 22s. to 39s.—Beans 31s. to 33s.—Peas 30s.—Oats 20s. to 24s. per quarter.

Yarmouth, Dec. 6.—The supply of grain was rather small for this season of the year, still it was equal to the demand. Fine Wheats were taken off on full as good terms as last week, but the inferior were a dull sale and cheaper. Malting Barleys were 1s. per quarter, and the second 1s. to 2s. per quarter cheaper. Oats were 1s. per quarter cheaper. In Beans and Peas note no alteration from last week. Prices as follow:—Old White Wheat 50s. to 56s. Ditto New 40s. to 56s. Ditto Old Red 48s. to 52s. Ditto New 44s. to 50s.—Malting Barley 25s. to 28s.—White Peas 36s. to 40s. Ditto Grey 27s. to 29s.—Oats 20s. to 23s.—Beans 28s. to 30s.—Flour 40s. per sack.

Northampton, Dec. 6.—Old Wheat 48s. to 52s. New ditto 44s. to 47s.—New Barley 22s. to 27s.—New Oats 19s. to 23s.—Old Beans 34s. to 38s. per quarter.

Manchester, Dec. 4.—Wheat 18s. to 21s.—Rye 7s. to 8s. 6d.—Peas 10s. to 12s.—Beans 13s. to 14s. per load.—Barley 27s. to 33s.—Oats 19s. to 26s. per quarter.

Derby, Dec. 4.—Wheat 50s. to 56s.—Beans 40s. to 42s.—Oats 22s. to 25s.—Barley 32s. to 38s. per quarter.

Chesterfield, Dec. 4.—Wheat 38s. to 54s.—Oats 18s. to 20s.—Barley 36s. to 32s.—Beans 40s. to 44s. per quarter.

Lynn, Dec. 4.—We had a very dull market on Tuesday. Wheat of the best quality supported our last week's prices; but all other sorts were 1s. to 2s. per quarter lower. Barley may also be noted at a decline of 1s. to 2s. per quarter. White and Grey Peas continue the same. Oats very few at market. Beans are 1s. per quarter dearer. Flour continues without alteration.—New Wheat 36s. to 43s.—Barley 22s. to 27s.—Oats 18s. to 21s.—Grey Peas 28s. to 30s.—Beans 35s. to 37s. per quarter.—Fine Flour 42s. per sack of 280 lbs.

Boston, Dec. 3.—We had a small supply of Wheat to-day: prices, Old 50s. to 52s. New 45s. to 50s.—Oats (a good supply) 16s. to 21s.—Old Beans 36s. to 38s. New ditto 25s. to 28s.—Rye 26s. per quarter.

City, 10 December 1823.

BACON.—The demand for Bacon is very inconsiderable, owing, probably, to the excellent quality of the pork, of which a great deal is now sent to this market from the port of Belfast. Only a few years ago it was impossible to make any one believe that *Irish pork* could be manufactured so as to equal the Scotch or Yorkshire: it has, however, been brought to such perfection as almost to supersede the use of both in this market; and the trade is in the hands of men of great spirit and enterprise.—Bacon, on board, 44s. to 45s.; landed, 50s. to 52s.—Pork, landed, 50s. to 52s.

BUTTER.—This article is still advancing, and is scarce: *high price*, however, will make it hold out, unless we have another such a winter as the last.—On board: Carlow 90s. to 94s.—Belfast 88s. to 90s.—Dublin 84s. to 86s.—Waterford 82s. to 84s.—Landed: Carlow 88s. to 92s.—Dublin 84s.—Waterford 82s. to 84s.—Cork 80s. to 82s.—Limerick 80s.

CHEESE.—Every kind of *old Cheese* is scarce; consequently the *new* is consumed earlier than usual. Prices are advancing.—Fine old Cheshire 80s. to 86s.; Good ditto 66s. to 74s.—Fine old Cheddar 90s.—New Cheshire 56s. to 65s.—Double Gloucester 58s. to 64s.; Single ditto 50s. to 60s.

Price of Bread.—The price of the 4lb. Loaf is stated at from 7d. to 9d.

SMITHFIELD, Monday, Dec. 8.

Per Stone of 8 pounds (alive).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	3	4	4	4
Mutton	3	8	4	4
Veal	4	4	5	6
Pork	4	0	5	4

Beasts ... 3,448 | Sheep ... 19,160
Calves 240 | Pigs 290

NEWGATE (same day).

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	2	0	3	0
Mutton	2	4	3	4
Veal	2	8	4	8
Pork	2	4	4	8

LEADENHALL (same day).

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	2	0	3	0
Mutton	2	4	3	4
Veal	2	8	4	8
Pork	2	4	4	8

COBBETT'S WEEKLY REGISTER.

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Published every Saturday Morning, at Seven o' Clock.

TO THE YEOMEN OF HEREFORDSHIRE.

On the question relating to South America, with a look back at the conduct of Parson Smythies, Lawyer Davies, and others, at the last County Meeting.

Kensington, 16th Dec. 1823.

GENTLEMEN,

You will ask, perhaps, what the conduct of such fellows as SMYTHIES and DAVIES can have to do with the question relating to SOUTH AMERICA. But, as I showed, some time back, that the conduct of DADDY COKE and SUFFIELD had had, in all likelihood, something to do in causing Cadiz to fall into the hands of the French; so I shall, I think, show you, that the conduct of PARSON SMYTHIES and LAWYER DAVIES may have something to do in the present great question relating to

South America. Some character, in SHAKESPEARE exclaims, "How *poor a thing* may do a noble office!" But, it is not less true, and the occurrence is much more frequent, that the most despicable amongst mankind, the most wretched of human beings, in point of intellect, may, from a combination of unfortunate circumstances, be able to do most tremendous mischief. You are not, therefore, to suppose it impossible that SMYTHIES and DAVIES and the rest of the mean crew of that day, unable to do any thing with regard to this great question of South America; you are not to conclude thus, merely because the men are so contemptible.

I shall lay before you the state of the matter, with regard to this, now important, part of the world. I shall show you the difficulties in which this nation is placed with regard to South America. I shall, then, look back at some of the causes of those difficulties; and then I shall, I think, bring you to

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perceive that mischief, and mischief of great magnitude, too, can be effected by creatures like SMYTHIES and DAVIES and COKE and SUFFIELD; especially when these are prompted, aided and supported by a noisy, a bullying, a base and lying press, like that of London, which, about this time twelve-month, was busily engaged in endeavours to destroy me, and every other man, who would have made the nation able to keep the French out of Spain, and which has now, of late, (and again, also, for its base and selfish purposes), been engaged in propagating a mass of lies, exaggerations, and abominations, that have, at last, *actually impeded the course of justice*, and, in all probability, has screened, for a while, at least, men charged with the most horrid of crimes. This atrocious press has done more mischief to this kingdom, within the last few years, than the press has ever done good in all the parts of the world put together. This scoundrel press, which told the English people, that I (while absent in America), had been tried and punished for libelling that Government also; this scoundrel press, which, about two years ago, caused my own son, who was then at New York, to

read in all the American newspapers, that his father was keeping a butcher's shop in Kensington; this scoundrel press, which has, within the last fifteen months, brought thousands of families to beggary, by the lies which it has published, respecting the affairs of Spain; this scoundrel press began last year about this time, that attack upon me, and upon my proposition for reducing the interest of the Debt, which attack has done more harm, I again say it, than the whole of the press of the world has ever done good from its first invention to the present hour. However, I shall have to speak of the monstrous thing again, by-and-by: let us, if you please, first proceed with the other part of my subject.

You have observed, perhaps, that, it is agreed, on all hands, that the independence of the Spanish Colonies of South America is a thing which this country ought anxiously to desire. You have observed, that this is a point insisted upon by all the newspapers, even by the sanguinary New Times, the Editor of which (STODART) was Walter's associate in the Old Times, when that bloody-minded newspaper contained a justification of the horrible wretches who murdered the

Protestants at Nismes. Even this STODART is for the independence of South America; because it would, he thinks, be conducive to the prosperity of our manufactures. The COURIER is even clamorous for this independence; in which he is joined by that which is certainly by far the most important of all the daily publications; namely, the *Morning Chronicle*. They all agree, that it will be most calamitous if South American independence be not established.

This press is, in this case, right upon wrong grounds: its wishes are right enough; but its reasons for the wishes are good for very little. It is always grubbing its dirty nose about after *manufactures* and *mines* and *loans*. Some of the impudent vagabonds, calling themselves *patriots*, in the Spanish Colonies, have already been mortgaging the land and the labour of their country, to the vile Jews and Jobbers of London. The Jews and Jobbers own the far greater part of this encurable press. The press, therefore, is for *South American independence*, as it is called; because, if the Colonies be restored to Spain; or, rather, if they be taken out of the hands of the unprincipled vagabonds, who are mortgaging them to our Jews,

those Jews will lose the money that they have lent to the vagabonds, as they have already lost that which they lent to the jacobins: I beg pardon of the jacobins; I mean the "*patriots*" of Old Spain.

Now, *I also wish* for the independence of Spanish America. I must stop here to explain once for all, that, I use the word South America, because it saves time. But *Mexico*, which contains three-fifths of the population of the whole of the Colonies of Spain in America, which, in fact, is equal in population and equal in riches, to Old Spain itself; this Colony; this great and rich country, is, indeed, in *North America*, notwithstanding, we always speak of it as being in South America. Therefore, in speaking of South American independence, I must, of course, be understood as including *Mexico*. In the Register of November 22, vol. 48, page 468, and four lines from the bottom of the page, from mere error, the word *Africa* was inserted, instead of *Asia*, the context would show what was meant; but the error is so material that I think it right to mention it.

False wish for the independence of South America. It would be impossible for me to wish for the

same thing that this infamous press wishes for, unless I wished for it, for a *different reason*. Very different is the reason in this case. So far from wishing for South American independence as the means of fattening Jews and Jobbers, I wish for it, as the means of preventing this country from becoming a poor contemptible feeble thing; that very thing which it is the interest of Jews and Jobbers to make it.

We ought never to look at South America, without keeping, at the same time, North America constantly in our eye. Things are in a very different state with regard to America, all taken together, from that in which they were only ten years ago. This country must become a little and contemptible power, unless it can openly, boldly, and as matter of course, always speak of itself as *the mistress of the seas*. There must be no mock modesty about it; no pretended love of peace with all the world; no sham liberality; and, in short, nothing that shall lead our Government to speak of the great ocean but as of the dominion of England. No necessity to thrust this impudently and boldly forward upon all occasions; but this must be maintained, and *openly* maintained, too; or, the

sinking of this country will be a hundred times more rapid than that of her rise. This is my firm conviction; and if I were a Minister, this should be the basis of all my policy.

Now, within these last twenty years, or thereabouts, we have, in the first place, by commercial-greediness; next by as villanous a little war as ever was carried on in this world; by eighteen months of as disgraceful war as ever stained the annals of a country; we have caused the United States to become really a great maritime power. This dear *daughter* of ours, as the hero of the inkstand would call her; this liberty-loving daughter, who places upon her coins the eagle of her wild-woods, and the picture of the mountain nymph, sweet Liberty; this dear liberty-loving daughter of ours, has thrown herself, neck and heels (I mean nothing immodest), into the congenial arms of the Russian Czar! There, then, are they two ready at any moment, to stretch every point for the purpose of lessening the power of England. The wise COURIER observed the other night, in remarking upon the Russian Minister's speech to the King of Spain, that it was *curious* to observe, Russia, who, till of late, was

hardly known in Europe, now taking a prominent part in all the affairs of even the South of Europe.

Curious enough this may be; but it will be much more curious to see this same power take a prominent part in all the affairs of South America and of the West Indies! The Czar could not do this were it not for the United States; but, with the aid of the United States, the Czar can; and, curious as the *Courier* looks upon its discovery as being, would it not be much more curious, *Eclair-Daniel*, if the question of the *right to search* American ships were to be *settled by soap-and-candle-eating soldiers marching into Hanover*? This would be curious, indeed. Nothing more curious, perhaps, ever happened; but many things much less to be expected have taken place within the last twenty years.

France, once well assured of this sort of support, will proceed unremittingly, and even hastily, to prepare for the recovery of those territories of which we stripped her during the late wars, and at the late Peace. If, therefore, we do not find out *something* new, something which we did not before possess, to balance against this new and great maritime power

in America, which, observe, is *constantly increasing*, though it makes little show and no noise; if we do not find out this, we must sink under the combination of force, which is now getting into motion as fast as possible.

Something has, luckily for us, come and offered itself to us; namely, South America; and more than all the rest of it, Mexico. Here are the means of doing all that we want done. Here are the means of putting an iron bit into the mouth of the United States. Here is a great country abounding in riches, and so placed in the map of the world, as to be able to render us the most efficient service, while our assistance would be necessary to its safety and prosperity; a country producing numerous valuable things which we want, and wanting numerous things which we are so eager to dispose of. The short statement is this: In ten years after the establishment of the independence of Mexico, the *Custom-House receipts* of the United States, *would be diminished one-half in amount*! Then, one of two things would happen: Their *maritime force must dwindle to nothing*, or they must *lay on heavy internal taxes*! To us, no matter which: but, one of the two must

be the inevitable consequence of the independence of MEXICO; that is to say, mind, if we at once and boldly make a stand for Mexican independence, and do not *sneak* about, wheedling and lying like Jews, and huxtering for pennies of profit, instead of throwing down a glove and challenging our enemies to combat, for fame and for power.

I am aware that my friends in America will complain against me, on this score; will say, "what are become of all your professions of *friendship for us*?" My answer is, friendship for you is one thing, and it may be right in me to indulge in it, as long as this can be done without neglecting to do that which is due to my own country. I never deceived you. When living amongst you, I wrote my Petition to the PRINCE REGENT, (re-published in Register of 8th November last,) Mr. HULME, who had become a CITIZEN of America, and to whom I showed the petition, thought that to send it to the Government in England would be a breach of hospitality. He was, at that time, going to Washington, where the Congress was assembled. I gave him a copy of the petition that he might show it to the Government at Washington; in order that no man should

have to say of me, that I had acted in an underhand manner towards the country, from whom I had found protection from the Acts of SIMON and Company. What effect this communication probably had, we may see by-and-by. But, at present, let me proceed to observe that neither I nor any one belonging to me, ever did any one act by which we could contract, even an implied allegiance to the United States. There are fifty men, fifty of you Americans, whom I respect and love as much as I do any fifty Englishmen, my own kindred excepted. I dare say that that which I am going to mention has happened with regard to hundreds of Americans and me; but if I were to sit down to think, I could write down the names of fifty in an hour. These have all expressed, at different times, their anxious wish that I would become, what they call, a Citizen of the United States. I have always objected, and, very frequently, in words something like these: "No; it may be my lot, before I die, to be so situated, as to make me a traitor to my own country, or the suggestor of measures hostile to yours; and how could I suggest such measures, if I, well known as I am, and always must be, were once to take an

"oath of allegiance to your country—try, and at the same time take an oath to abjure my own country!"

Such, my friends in America, was my conduct; and this is notorious. Therefore, you cannot excuse me of now acting contrary to my former professions. My friendship for your country is now as great as it ever was. I wish you as much happiness, and even as much power, as you can possibly enjoy, *without injury or danger to England*. But, my friends, if you talk of professions, in what company do I find you? I find you in the arms of the Emperor ALEXANDER. You are grown, I suppose, much too polite now-a-days to call any one a despot or a tyrant, as you, even in your Constitution, call poor old King GEORGE; you are grown too polite to talk of despots; and I remember that that petty republican despot, Judge MACKEN, indicted me, six-and-twenty years ago (though the Grand Jury threw out the bill), for having called even the old King of Spain a despot. You, I say, are doubtless grown too polite to call any body a despot; and you would, of course, say that I were a libeller, if I so called your dearly beloved ally, the Russian Czar. But, he not being a despot, you

must leave off railing against despots altogether: he being your friend. In England, I trust in God, it will be quite natural that you should meet with an enemy! Away with all the soft nonsense about "*Daughter States*" and "*Sister Republics*"; here are you, the first-born of the family of liberty, as you call yourselves, fast locked in the embraces of the invader and conqueror of Poland, and of the defender, that was to be, of the Greeks! We shall see by-and-by, perhaps, what part your envoy in Spain has recently acted, in conjunction with Pizarro di Borgo. But, in the meanwhile, the notoriety of your league with the Czar is quite enough to exonerate me from professions, if I had ever made them, of friendship for the United States.

Yeomen of Herefordshire, I now return to my opinion, as to the effect which the independence of Mexico would have upon the revenue and the power of the United States. I could push this argument a great deal further; but, at present, this is far enough. The danger to this country at present is through the United States. The hostility of France and Spain, and also the hostility of Russia, we have. It is cordial towards us. They long to hit

us; but they cannot bite without teeth, and the United States are those teeth. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary for us to draw or to blunt those teeth. To do this, we have only the means which I have pointed out; and those means must be made use of openly, boldly, and without delay.

In order to show you what are the real designs of the powers of which I have been speaking: namely of Russia, France and Spain (who are one), and of the United States, I shall beg leave to press you to pay attention to certain documents that I am about to insert. They may all have passed under your eye in the newspapers; but so large and so heterogeneous is the mass of matter in which they are buried, that it is not to be expected, that they have been distinguished by one man out of fifty.

In former Numbers of the Register I have noticed several articles published in the French papers, relative to the Spanish Colonies, reprobating, in strong terms, the apparent design of England to acknowledge their independence. Our base and stupid paper, called the Courier, seems to have been appointed to carry on the dispute with the French journals. At last, the Courier in-

formed its readers, that the Ministers *had informed some of the fellows in the city of London*, that the French Government had given to our Government the most positive assurances, that *France would not assist Spain in the recovery of her Colonies.*

Since this, the French papers have put forth *nothing of their own* upon the subject; but, have very faithfully, copied into their columns that which the *Spanish papers* say upon the subject. Oh! Monsieur! I recognise you there! *Spanish papers*, indeed! There are not, and you know it very well, Monsieur, any Spanish papers at all. There are papers in the Spanish language, to be sure; but you know that the ideas all come out of the heads of Frenchmen. It is impossible to blame you, Monsieur, there are silver and gold mines at stake; and cotton and indigo and hides; and I do not forget the museums of Paris, and CASTLEREAGH'S treaty about the tribute and the frontier towns. I have not the conscience to *blame* you, Monsieur. But pray do not talk any more about Spanish papers!

Gentlemen of Herefordshire, this device; this changing of the channel of the controversy; only shows that the French are not yet

in a state in which they think it prudent openly to avow their intentions with regard to South America. He must be a stupid man, indeed, who does not clearly see that there can be no newspaper published in Spain, without the approbation of the French. The *Madrid Gazette* is, in fact, the only newspaper. Madrid is garrisoned by French troops. The French commandant is, in fact, the complete master of Madrid. The King of France is the real Sovereign of Spain; and his generals are his viceroys in that country. Not being prepared openly to declare their intention with regard to South America; and, having thought it prudent to give assurances to our Government such as those above-mentioned; this being the case with the French, they set on their paper in Spain to talk to us upon the subject. A little while ago this paper told us, that the men who call themselves patriots in South America would, upon the approach of a respectable force, melt away, just as they had in Naples and in Spain. Our Courier made but a very lame answer to this; and the Spaniards did, in fact, triumph in the controversy.

Something much more to the point, however, has taken place

since, as will be seen by the following article, which, as you will see, is taken from the French papers into the English; but, first, from the Spanish into the French. I have not the smallest doubt of the article having been actually written at Paris, sent to Madrid and published there, and then, as we have seen, re-published at Paris. I beg you, Gentlemen of Herefordshire, to read this article with attention; and I shall show you by-and-by, how even creatures so contemptible as SYMPATHIES and DAVIES may have contributed in the producing of those great dangers to this country, which now appear to be at hand.

“PARIS, Dec. 9.—The *Gazette* of Madrid, as we have already mentioned, has lately replied, “with as much conciseness as energy, to the interminable declamation of the English Journals in favour of the independence of the Spanish Colonies. The answer of the Castilian Editor is terminated by an argument which, by its force and justice, will strike all sound minds—“‘You pretend,’ says he, to the English politicians, ‘that South America owes us obedience no longer, because we cannot afford it protection. Well, then, let it be admitted that Ireland should say to you to-morrow, ‘Far from protecting me, you press upon me with a tyranny the more frightful, because it is founded upon intolerance.’—The Irish Catholics are treated with a rigour which no Christian power exercises against the Jews. Deprived of all

"their political, and even of a part
 "of their civil rights, these men,
 "who comprise five-sixths of the
 "population of the island, are, in
 "many respects, in a state of slavery.
 "What would you have to object
 "to them, if, with your own argu-
 "ments in their hands, they should
 "thus address you: 'We declare
 "ourselves independent. As we
 "are the strongest, our independ-
 "ence already exists *de facto*,
 "and to-morrow it shall exist by
 "right. Europe—all mankind—
 "will applaud our deliverance,' &c.
 "So.—ending with all the fine
 "phrases which have been put
 "forth, and which are still put
 "forth, by the newspapers of Lon-
 "don?—What will the latter re-
 "ply? Nothing, we repeat; or only
 "abuse, which is less than nothing.
 "In the present instance they will
 "conceive themselves very plea-
 "sant in calling the Spaniards the
 "Dons. But will this nickname
 "destroy the weighty force of the
 "analogy between Ireland, Mexico,
 "and Peru? The Spanish writers
 "are not so low as to call you
 "Roast-Beefs, or John Bulls, by
 "way of demonstrating that it is
 "ridiculous, and even odious, to
 "make yourselves champions of
 "the people of the New World,
 "when, at a few leagues distance,
 "you place under a yoke of iron,
 "an island, the inhabitants of
 "which obey the same King, and
 "fight under the same colours with
 "yourselves.—Of all the London
 "Journals, *The Courier* is that which
 "clamours the most in defence of the
 "cause of the American insurgents.
 "Will it be forgotten, that, in the
 "course of the present summer, it
 "has happened to it more than
 "once to say in so many words—
 "'The state of Ireland is so critical
 "and so alarming, that to-morrow
 "we may hear that that island is
 "lost to us.'—When one's house is
 "in flames, is it not more prudent
 "to labour to extinguish the fire,

"than to add fuel to the confag-
 "ration of your neighbours?"

Those of you who have done
 me the honour to read my letter
 to Mr. CANNING, published on the
 22d November, will be ready to
 believe that this Spanish writer
 had that letter lying before him
 when he wrote this article. In
 that letter, I, addressing myself
 to Mr. Canning, asked him what
 we should say, if France, Spain,
 America and Russia, were to
 talk of *acknowledging the inde-
 pendence of Ireland!* I then
 went on to show the analogy of
 the two cases, Ireland and Mexico.
 The passage in my letter to
 Mr. CANNING, is so much like
 this paragraph of the Spanish
 writer that it is really necessary
 to show that the latter was not
 borrowed from the former. My
 letter was published in London
 on the 22d November; it must go
 to Spain by the way of France.
 It could not leave London until
 Tuesday, the 25th November.
 It could not get to Paris before
 the 28th November; and it
 could not go to Madrid, and be
 published there, and come back
 again and be printed at Paris,
 and all in the space of ten days.

It is certain, therefore, that
 the same thing struck the Spanish

writer at Madrid, that struck me in London. This coincidence proves that two men, at a great distance from one another; two men of different nations, writing in different languages; animated by wishes directly opposed to each other, had, in consequence of looking at one and the same state of things, the same thoughts forced into their minds. The subject, Gentlemen, is of the very greatest importance. For this reason, and in order that you may see how much of this matter I understand, I will here copy the passage to which I have alluded, from my letter to Mr. CANNING.

"If France, Spain, America, and Russia, were to affect to talk of the independence of Ireland, should we not make the very heavens ring with expressions of resentment? And yet, Sir, would this be much more outrageous, than for us to talk about acknowledging the independence of Mexico; a country containing a population twice as numerous as that of Ireland; a country as clearly owing allegiance to the King of Spain as Ireland owes allegiance to our King. Ours is the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; and FERDINAND is the King of Spain and the Indies. Our King sends a Viceroy to Ireland: the King of Spain sends a Viceroy to Mexico. It is true that some persons in Mexico have raised up commotion against their King, and have sent agents to

"get themselves acknowledged and to get succours from foreign States; but have there been, and are there, wanting commotions in Ireland! And have there been wanting Irishmen to go to foreign countries, to endeavour to prevail upon them to acknowledge the independence of Ireland, and to send her succours: nay, have such acknowledgements been wanting, and have such succours been refused! If you make war for the independence of Mexico, you will, at any rate, be in no want of precedent, as long as the expedition of the 'Jacobin' General HOCHÉ shall make part of the history of Ireland!"

When you consider, Gentlemen, that it is impossible that the Spanish writer could have seen this before he wrote this paragraph, you cannot fail to be struck with the wonderful concurrence in these two separate views of the same subject. Indeed, it has always appeared to me that the French and Russians would not fail to put Ireland forward, whenever our Government should choose to talk of reasons for acknowledging the independence of South America; and that man must be ignorant or unprincipled, in the extreme, who can pretend, for one moment, that the South Americans have ever had a hundredth part of the grounds of complaint against Spain that the people of Ireland have had for more than two centuries.

But, have we not, staring us in the face, this horrible fact! That hundreds of persons in Ireland are now *selling themselves into bondage* to serve the South Americans! Monstrous hypocrisy, then, it must be to talk of oppressions exercised by Spain upon the people of South America; to talk of interfering for the purpose of obtaining liberty for the South Americans, while the Irish people are so treated by us, as to be glad to sell themselves into slavery to those very persons whom we pretend that we wish to make free! A memorable thing for the world to have upon record: the people of Ireland taxed in order to send forth fleets and armies to rescue the South Americans from thralldom; and the South Americans purchasing, at the same time, the people of Ireland for slaves! To talk of *war*, with Ireland in its present state, can be little short of madness. France, Spain, Russia, and America, know the state of Ireland as well as we do; and, in calculating their means of annoying us, they do not, you may be assured, ever leave Ireland out of the account.

In answer to the above very intelligible threat of the French writer, I call him French, for as to the things being published at

Madrid, it amounts to nothing; in answer to this threat, the Courier has said nothing; and, mark, it *has not even inserted the article from the French paper!* This shows you, Gentlemen, how ticklish the subject is—this shows you that our Government felt the cut. Conscious guilt made the base Courier silent; and, if it had not been for the *Morning Chronicle*, I, who do not receive the French papers, never should have known that such an article had been published. It is of great importance for you to observe, that the ministerial papers have wholly suppressed this article. They have been afraid to let it be seen. They are afraid that it should be read in any part of the kingdom, and particularly in Ireland; and well they may; for it amounts to nothing short of a threat, that, if you declare South America independent; if you throw out an invitation for it to cast off the allegiance of its Sovereign, we will talk, at least, of the independence of Ireland; and will thus shake your state to the very centre. The Spanish papers spoke some time ago of these friends of South American independence, as jacobins and radicals. They have discovered that it is the ministerial journals that are most eager for

South American independence. They, therefore, now see the thing in the true light.

From what has been said, you must, I think, clearly perceive what are the views of France with regard to this great matter. It evidently is not her design nor her interest to push things on in haste; or at least not to do this openly; but, at the same time, we may be well assured, that she will be at work in all manner of ways that are not visible to us. What I have always looked upon; that is to say, since the invasion and subjugation of Spain. What I have always looked upon as certain is, a league between France, Spain, Russia, and the United States, to force the colonies back into the quiet possession of Old Spain; that is to say, into the possession of France. The motives of France are, God knows, clear enough. As to Spain, we need not speak of the motive. Russia has two motives; one to prevent the existence of an example of successful revolution; but, another, and a much more powerful one, to *lessen the maritime power of England*; and to cause the dominion of the seas to be in some sort shared in by herself. To effect this, the United States is regarded as her principal

agent; and I have shown you, in the former part of this letter, that the independence of South America, once well established, the maritime power of the United States would very shortly become next to nothing.

Of all the parties, therefore, these United States are the most deeply interested in preventing the success of the South American revolutionists. And yet, (Good God!) I read a little while ago, in the EXAMINER Newspaper, an observation of this sort: "Our Government does not appear to be hearty in the cause of South American independence. The United States must, therefore, come forward, and SETTLE THE MATTER AT A SINGLE BLOW!" Not quite so enthusiastic as this, has the Morning Chronicle been; and, indeed, it has, of late, expressed but little hope of aid from the United States. But, for a long while, it persevered in holding up those States, as the infallible defenders of the independence in question.

Now, Gentlemen of the County of Hereford, you, who heard me so basely caluminated by SMYTHIES and DAVIES, and so stupidly opposed by CHARLTON and CLIVE, which latter conjurers had

no objection to the proposition, but merely to *birth-place* and *place of residence* of the man that made them; you, Gentlemen, who witnessed this scene of emptiness, have, perhaps, read of late, my opinions relative to what would, in case of war for the independence of South America, be the *conduct of the United States*. I have invariably said that they would be against us. When I have been reminded, or when I have had to state, that they *had already acknowledged* the independence of the South American States, and that they acknowledged the independence of the State of Buenos Ayres *a great while ago*. When I have had to state this, I have always said, that the moment France and Russia came forward *against South American independence*, that moment would the United States **UNACKNOWLEDGE**, all the States that they had acknowledged.

Now, Gentlemen of Herefordshire, you who heard me calumniated by SMITHIES and DAVINS, and who heard them *bellying out, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the noble Lord-Lieutenant, to prevent my being heard in reply*; you who heard

this, with, I hope, do me the favour to attend to what I am now going to state; for, Gentlemen, here you will see the cause, and the not very distant cause of the deep disgrace of England, or of a war, the issue of which, no man can tell.

You read, Gentlemen, not long ago, a Petition to the Prince Regent, which I sent home from America. It was first published in England, late in the year 1817, and it was dated in Long Island on the 17th October of that year. I had not escaped more than six months from Sidmouth's Power-of-Imprisonment Bill, and the fetters and dungeons put into immediate and extensive use by that bill. I was smarting under the effects of that bill; I looked back upon my wasted and destroyed property; and the ruffian London newspapers had followed me, spreading all over the Continent the falsest and basest of accusations against me. The persecution was marked by numerous traits of peculiar malignity. It required great soberness of reflection not to make me hate the very name of England, and not to make me wish to see her wholly blotted out.

I, however, did not yield to the angry feelings; but suppressed them; forgot the wicked tyrants

that I had left behind me, and their base hirelings of the press: or, at least, so far forgot them, as to resolve still to serve my country to the utmost of my power. I saw clearly what the United States had done with regard to South America; I saw what they were doing; what they intended to do; and I saw all their motives. I saw what the interest of England would have made her do, and, in the petition above-mentioned (re-published in the Register of the 8th Nov. last), I clearly developed all the secrets of the subject.

In another part of this letter, I have told you, that, while my petition was crossing the sea from America to England, a copy of it was at Washington, where it was read (at least, I believe so), by many members of Congress, and by the members of the Executive Government. The petition, you will have observed, most earnestly prays the Prince Regent to *acknowledge the independence of South America*; and it exposes the conduct of the United States, in *not acknowledging* them, and in having passed a law hostile to them. This petition produced not the smallest effect upon the Government of England, who by the hands of that great statesman of the name of HARROWBY or RYDER,

was, at that same time, busily engaged in bringing in a bill, called the "*Foreign Enlistment Bill*;" that is to say, a bill to prevent the South American States from receiving the *voluntary assistance of Englishmen in gaining their independence*! Curious occurrence! There was my petition, in one of my "*Twopenny trashes*," beseeching the Prince Regent to acknowledge the South American States, while he could do it with safety, and without the risk of war: there was my petition praying for this acknowledgment, and showing how it would *curtail the growing power of the United States*. And there was, at the very same time, that great statesman, the profound and foreseeing HARROWBY, bringing in a Bill to prevent Englishmen from assisting the South Americans to gain their independence: and, (pray mark it, Gentlemen), in answer to Lord HOLLAND, who opposed the Bill, his cogent argument was, that it was **JUST SUCH A BILL AS HAD BEEN PASSED BY THE UNITED STATES!** Oh God! just such a bill as suited the Fox, and, therefore, must be most excellent for the Geese!

If, however, the great statesman HARROWBY, and his *equally great colleagues*, paid no attention to my

petition ; if they, of whom the profound CASTLEREAGH was the leader, thought it infinitely beneath them to think about what was contained in "*Twopenny trash*," the Congress at Washington, did not think thus. They did two things. They altered the law, of which I complained in my petition ; and *they did it, avowedly*, in consequence of my complaint, alledging, however, that they had passed the law in a great hurry, and at ten o'clock at night. They named me in the debate. Some of them spoke very slightly of me ; but there was no man who opposed the alteration of the law, which law, you will observe, is embodied in my petition, above mentioned.

But, besides this, the Government at Washington sent, soon afterwards, a parcel of COMMISSIONERS to the South American States, in order to ascertain whether they were so far advanced in gaining their independence, as for it to be *prudent for the United States to acknowledge those South American States*. This was, you will observe, in the latter part of the year 1817, or along during the first months of the next year. Mark, now, Gentlemen. English troops were then still in France. Old Spain was in the most crippled and unsettled state. Holland

was at the nod of England. Russia, in the then state of France and Spain, could think of no projects against England. For the United States to acknowledge the independence of South America was too obviously the interest of England for her to find fault of it. They detested the thought of that independence ; they wished the South Americans all at the devil ; but, there was danger in refusing to acknowledge that independence ; because, if England acknowledged it *first*, what an influence it would at once give her, and how she would throw into the back ground the dear sister republics of the North !

This was my plan ; and this the Congress saw. They saw the danger of being behindhand with England, in acknowledging the independence of the South American States, and forthwith they sent their inquiring scouts under the name of Commissioners. They detested the idea of independence : they could not find in their hearts to acknowledge that, till they were actually forced ; and yet, they must do *something* ; they must be *prepared*, lest *England should be before them*. They, therefore, sent out their scouts and got into a sort of *half official intercourse* with the "*patriots*" in power ;

while their scouts in England, let them know what the wisdom of Whitehall and St. Stephen's was about.

This is a most curious matter ! Finding from the reports of their scouts in England that the wisdom at Westminster was hatching nothing for them to fear, their scouts in South America, carried on a protracted talk. They never ceased to talk about acknowledging the independence of every one of the States ; but for a long, long time, they never acknowledged any one of them. At last, however, their newspapers communicated to the *State of Buenos Ayres*, that its independence was acknowledged by the United States. The State of "Columbia" had the great joy to see in the Washington demi-official newspapers, a similar announcement. Would you believe it, Gentlemen, this has been a sheer, an unqualified, a premeditated LIE ! We, in England, have believed that an acknowledgment of Buenos Ayres had taken place, at any rate. The people and the Government of Buenos Ayres have believed the same thing, until within these two months. But, it now turns out, that there has been no such thing as an official acknowledgment ; that the scouts,

dignified with the name of Commissioners, have been, at once, *hucksterers* and *spies* ; getting commercial preferences and advantages in exchange for professions of friendship, and for promises to acknowledge independence, and finding out, at the same time, all the secrets of the men in power, the extent of their means, and in ascertaining what ought to be done to thwart their views, and to bring their countries again under the dominion of the Bourbons.

The intelligence relating to the non-acknowledgment of Buenos Ayres, on the part of the United States, has reached London about a week, through the papers of New York. Our statesman of the Courier newspaper, in remarking upon this intelligence, says, " One thing, does, indeed, seem MOST EXTRAORDINARY ; viz. That NO OFFICIAL INTIMATION OF THE RECOGNITION, had been made to the Executive of Buenos Ayres ; the only knowledge the latter had of it, being derived merely from the PUBLIC JOURNALS " !

Well done, Jonathan ! There you have fairly outwitted Whitehall, the collective wisdom of St. Stephen's, and the " Sister Re-

public of Buenos Ayres," at the same time. You have not outwitted me; because I had nothing but the English newspapers to guide me; and they talked of the acknowledgment so long, as of a matter of which nobody doubted; and the Buenos Ayres people in their newspapers talked of it, too, so long, that I do not look upon myself as having been outwitted by you any more than I look upon myself as being outwitted by a fellow that palms a lie upon me, by the means of a false oath. Not in this situation, however, are our pretty fellows at Whitehall. They make us pay more to an ambassador in your country than you pay to your President. They keep a whole tribe of consuls in your country. They lay out fifty thousand pounds in a year to get other nations' secrets; and their demi-official newspaper, when it hears, through yourself, (for it finds it out through no other means), when it finds from yourself, that you have not, even at the end of six years, acknowledged any independence at all; when this demi-official newspaper hears you avow this, at last, it exclaims, *this is most extraordinary!* So, that there can be very little doubt, that these pretty fellows at Whitehall have been actually believing six years, that you had acknowledged the independence!

Here, Gentlemen of Herefordshire, is a pretty state of things! But this is not quite all, for, it appears, from this intelligence, that the United States newspapers have deceived the Buenos Ayres Government by stating that a Mr. RODNEY was actually appointed to be ENVOY at Buenos Ayres. Curious it is, Gentlemen,

that the boasted Government of Buenos Ayres found out about two months ago, that Mr. RODNEY was in *Old Spain!* Bravo, Jonathan! It was so natural in you! It was so native! There was so much *simplicity*, so much of that **SIMPLE VIRTUE** which dogmatical **MONTESQUIEU** calls the characteristic of republics. This virtue was so manifest in the act of sending the Republican **RODNEY** to see which way things turned in *Old Spain*, before he actually ventured on his envoyship in Buenos Ayres.

Gentlemen, you who heard the foul calumnies of SMYTHES and DAVIES, does not this open to your view the load of disgrace, or of expense, which must be the consequence of my advice not having been followed? In this movement of Mr. RODNEY, do you not see a proof of the insincerity of the United States, as to this matter? But, indeed, we have no right to blame them. It is for every nation to do the best that it can for itself, notwithstanding the novel and childish doctrine of each nation in the world profiting from the prosperity of every other nation. The independence of South America must be prevented; or, the United States must sink into next to nothing. Rather than this, they must, and they will, join with French, Spaniards, Russians, Turks, Algerines, Hottentots, Blacks of Hayti, or Blacks in Barbadoes or Jamaica. And, Gentlemen, I declare to you, in the most solemn manner, my firm belief, that Mr. RODNEY's business in Spain has been to consult with the French and the Russians as to the effectual means of preventing the independence of South

America. It is to deceive one's self most grossly. It is to abuse one's own understanding to suffer one's self to believe that the United States will not pursue that which they deem to be most conducive to their own interests. The President of America recommended, in one of his speeches, the acknowledging of the independence of Buenos Ayres. Soon after that, the Washington newspapers contained an account of the nomination of an envoy to Buenos Ayres! And, yet, it was all a deception! Nothing official ever took place; and there is Buenos Ayres not yet acknowledged. This is shocking meanness; it is despicable tricking; it is such conduct as no Government ought to be guilty of; it reflects disgrace on the whole people of the United States; but the disgrace is soon forgotten when the trick is followed by success.

Was it not, however, the business of our Government to discover the trick long ago? Instead of this, it really appears to have been acting upon the presumption, that the South American States have been acknowledged by the United States; instead of this, these latter have been shuffling backward and forward; sending Commissioners; sending Consuls, siding with the Republicans to-day, quarrelling with Lord Cochrane to-morrow; everlastingly talking about *liberty*, and continually carrying on a spy system for royalty. At last, things have so come about, that these dear "*sister republics*" can openly refuse to acknowledge the independence of the new States; and if they do not refuse, wonderful, indeed is the miracle that has been wrought in them.

It must be exceedingly mortifying, to those who have been accustomed to hold forth the United States as a balance in the scale against the despots of Europe; it must be exceedingly mortifying to such persons, to be compelled to acknowledge, that, of all their enemies, the very bitterest that the South American States will find, are their dear sisters of the North. The Editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, who, in every case except that touching the *interest of the Debt*, shows himself to be a sincere friend of what is truly called freedom. This writer has, upon numerous occasions, spoken of the United States as of the *immoveable friends* of South America. How must this gentleman have been mortified, then, when he saw, in the *Courier* newspaper of the 10th inst., that even the independence of Buenos Ayres was not acknowledged; and that the pretended envoy, Mr. RODNER, was in Spain in company with Pozzo di Borgo, instead of being on his passage to Buenos Ayres! How great, I say, must this gentleman's mortification have been! We may judge of it by the fact of his *not having inserted the intelligence in the Morning Chronicle*. He could not insert it without a comment of his own; and what comment could he make, other than one containing severe reprobation of the conduct of his favourite Government?

Such, Gentlemen, is the state of the question relating to South America. Our safety requires that the Spanish Colonies, or that of Mexico, at least, should become perfectly independent. The interests of France, Spain and Russia, and the very existence of

the United States, as a great or even a respectable power, required that that independence should be prevented. Our Government, now that the difficulties are augmented a thousand fold, wishes to secure this independence. This wish comes into its heart, not after France has had time for restoring tranquillity at home; but after she has actually got into her possession the Government, the resources, and the ports of Spain; and after the United States have had time to create a most formidable navy.

Can any man believe that the independence of South America is now to be effected without war? Mind, if it be not effected, and particularly that of Mexico, this kingdom must become a miserable little power in a few years. I have shown before, and it must, I think, be evident to every one, that if we find nothing wherewith to put a stop to the increasing power of the United States, this country must sink. I know it can do nothing without *freeing the Irish*; and I heartily rejoice at it. There is nothing which I would not rather see befall the kingdom, than see the people of Ireland continue to be treated as they now are treated. This, therefore, is always to be understood, as making part of my opinion, as to this matter. I do not wish the nation to be preserved as a nation, unless the lot of Ireland be changed.

No change, however, no internal change that can be imagined, would preserve the power of the country for any length of time, without those measures with regard to the United States, of which I have been speaking

above. Gentlemen, take a map of America; look at the situation of the United States, and think of their natural resources. See the family of Bourbon once more in possession of Mexico and South America: think of fleets at Cadiz and at Brest, and think of other fleets at the mouth of the Mississippi, in the Chesapeake, at New York, and in the harbour of Boston. Can any man look at this picture, and can he believe, that, without paying tribute to some one, or to all of these powers, England will be suffered to hold a harbour or another square mile in the West Indies for another twenty years? "So much the better," says WILBERFORCE and his canting crew; but not so much the better says the man, who wishes to see England preserve her power, and who knows that these West India Colonies, the benefit of which have not yet been destroyed by the new-fashioned commercial philanthropy and huckstering policy; who knows that these West India Colonies keep constantly afloat upwards of a hundred thousand tons of English shipping.

This, however, is only one way in which England would be affected by the circumstances alluded to. Her maritime rights would be assailed from all quarters. She would meet with insults on every sea, and in every harbour. She must totally abandon her great protection, the *right of search*. In short, she must never attempt to draw the sword again. She must put up the coward's prayer, and say to the god of battles, "*Let there be no more fighting in the world.*" This, however, would not save her.

While she had any thing to be stripped of, stripping might suffice; but, much as she possesses, this ceremony would be soon over. Blows must come at last; and, as I said in my farewell address, when I went last to America, "It is hard to say how very low this country would be sunk in the scale of nations. It would become so humbled, so poverty-stricken, so feeble, so degraded, that it would, in a few years, not have the power, even if it had the inclination, to defend itself against any invader. The people would become the most beggarly and slavish of mankind; nothing would be left of England but the mere name, and that only, as it were, for the purpose of reminding the wretched inhabitants of the valour and public spirit of their fathers."

It is not to be believed that the independence of Mexico, to say nothing of the other new States, is to be achieved without our *open and direct encouragement and assistance*. I think it an extremely difficult enterprise, proceed in whatever manner we may. If there are any Church and King beasts who have a hand in it, it **MUST** fail. Without the assent of the Catholic Priests and Bishops, the enterprise must fail, even if we had a fleet of fifty sail of the line, and an army of two hundred thousand men, opposed by nothing but the bare intrigues of France. Yet, in the *Morning Chronicle* of this very day, I read that the French Government (now mark!) "during the absence of Pozzo di Borgo, has entertained a *different view*, from that of Russia,

"of American independence, and that *French consuls and commercial agents*, are, forthwith, to proceed to represent *French interests* in the new *independent States* of that most valuable quarter of the earth." Here's infatuation! And if we find the Editor of the *Morning Chronicle* talking thus, what are we to expect of persons in general! Only think of the French Government changing their opinion because the Russian Minister was absent from Paris! To be sure, the French may send out *consuls and commercial agents*; and under what character more plausible can they send out spies, and persons to intrigue against England, and against the independence of the States!

We can do nothing in South America, unless we have the priests on our side; and is it to be expected that we shall have these, while battles like that of Skibbereen are going on in Ireland? It must come to a fight at last; and do we believe that the Catholics of South America will fight on the side of a Government like that which has the mastership in Ireland? "Oh!" some one will say, "but the people of Mexico never heard of the battle of Skibbereen." It is not much further to Mexico than it is to Madrid; and we see that the writer of the *Gazette of Madrid*, has heard enough and enough of the treatment of the Catholics of Ireland. I wish, almost above all other things in this world, to see Mexico an independent State; I see the vast importance of that independence; but, while Ireland is in its present state; while the Catholics of Ireland are treated

as they now are, the Catholics of Mexico would deserve to be utterly exterminated if they did not chase from their shores those who thus treat the Catholics of Ireland.

The day seems to be arrived, however, when this treatment can no longer be continued *with impunity*. The elements of destruction seem to be fast gathering around us; and, the hope of every just man is; and I believe, also, that the fact is, that no efficient measure of defence can be taken, without first doing justice, without first giving freedom to the Catholics of Ireland.

Now, Gentlemen, before I conclude, let me beg you to look back for a minute to the conduct of Parson SMYTHIES and Lawyer DAVIES. All the humiliating consequences which I have described, must come, unless *we be able to wage war*. Our enemies all know well that we are utterly unable to wage war, unless we reduce, and largely reduce, the interest of our Debt. In the consultations held at Petersburg, at Paris, and particularly at Washington, this argument, be you assured, is never forgotten. "Let her keep that debt," said one of the ministers at Washington in 1818, "Let her keep that debt, and she shall not have a West India Island, in twenty years' time." This, I was told (and I have no doubt of the fact), was said by one of the Ministers at Washington; and one too, who has been talked of for President.

Contemptible as SMYTHIES, DAVIES, and CHARLTON and CLIVE are, in my sight and in yours, they had the power to *bother* the matter at Hereford; and, backed by

the base London press, that most efficient part of the property of the Jews, they had the power to destroy, in a great measure, the excellent effect of the proceedings in Norfolk. This country is much too great, a great deal too much envied on account of her power and her dominions; she has been a great deal too much feared, and there exists much too strong a desire to pull her down, for proceedings like that at Hereford not to be duly noticed by foreign cabinets, and *particularly at Washington*, where they know well how to judge of all matters of this kind. "Let her keep that Debt," said the Washington statesman. So said, not the words, indeed, but the *conduct*, of the poor talentless, envious reptiles at Hereford; and, if she *keep that debt*, she must, in a few years, become the contempt and scorn of nations, that have hitherto trembled at her name. I am quite satisfied that what I here state will be fully verified, if the present men continue in power, and if the present System be pursued. One and the same newspaper, of the date of this very day, tells us that we have a *Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs*, whom the gout has laid by the heels at Brompton; and, that we have a *great ambassador* (Lord GRENVILLE, formerly Lord LEVESON GOWER), who, we have been told, is destined to show South America the way to independence; we have this *great ambassador*, laid by the heels by the same barbarous tyrant, in Grosvenor Square! Gentlemen of Herefordshire, I mock not at the groans and cries of persons afflicted with the gout. I mention not the affliction of these gentlemen be-

cause their affliction gives me pleasure, but because it unfits them for those services which the country demands at their hands. This is not the sort of stuff to rescue a nation from dangers; and I have never known the time when this nation was in dangers so great as those with which it is at present surrounded.

Before I conclude, let me beg you, Gentlemen, to look back at the Petition which, as I said before, I re-published on the 8th of last month. It is impossible not to exclaim, at the close of such reading: "How different would the present state of this country have been, if the prayer of this petition had been attended to!" Those unborn will, probably have to rue the day when France subjugated Spain, and took possession of Cadiz. What long, what expensive, and what bloody wars shall we have to carry on, in consequence of that subjugation! No truth that ever presented itself to the human mind can be more clear, than that that subjugation never could have taken place, if the advice of my petition had prevailed. There is the advice then: there is the proof that there was a man to see and to describe what ought to have been done. But this man the Ministers knew to be an enemy of corruption; and this man stupid SMYTHIES and DAVIES and CHARLTON and CLIVE discovered to want the essential qualification of being born in Herefordshire! Not a man in his senses can doubt that the nation must sink unless she stand boldly forward in an armed attitude. It is notorious that she is unable to do this, without largely reducing her Debt. The county of Norfolk

had given its sanction to this opinion. The county of Hereford was ready to do the same. It, in fact, *did do the same*. But SMYTHIES and DAVIES and CHARLTON and CLIVE, and the band of men by whom they were surrounded, unable to endure the thought of being flung back into that shade for which Nature designed them, contrived by the means of unmannered uproar, aided by a foul coalition, and ending in the creating of a degree of confusion that rendered every thing unintelligible; contrived, by these means to procure for themselves the gratification of setting the villainous London newspapers to represent me as having been defeated, a thing which they seemed to value more highly than if it had been a defeat of all those powers, who are now plotting the humiliation of their country. In short, Gentlemen, I am convinced, and I am satisfied that hundreds of thousands are convinced, that, if I had been a Member of Parliament, only three years ago, and had continued such, until this time, Spain never would have been invaded, and South America would now have been free. I should probably have had no direct power; but I hold it to be utterly impossible for me to have uttered in Parliament that which I have written, without producing the effects that I have described. I am further convinced, that these wretched things, SMYTHIES, DAVIES, CHARLTON, and CLIVE, have the same conviction in their minds; but, such is always the malice of conscious inferiority, of conscious dullness, of conscious and indescribable stupidity, that the same

graded possessor will destroy all about him, and end with the destruction of himself rather than owe to superior talents, a becoming state of humble security, though it is that for which Providence manifestly made him.

The parties whom I have condescended to name, for the purpose of reminding you of their mischievous malevolence, are, some of them, pretty well stricken in years ; but, they, as well as I, are young enough to see the consequences of the transactions of this memorable year. Should the enemies of England succeed, in replacing the colonies of America under the dominion of the House of Bourbon, then will come the day of perils ; and when that day comes, I am satisfied that you will have the justice to remember that which has been now addressed to you by,

Your Brother Freeholder,
Your Faithful Friend,
And your most obedient Servant,
WM. COBBETT.

AMERICAN TREES.

THE demand for these Trees has been such as I expected ; that is to say, *very great*.—Several gentlemen, who do not read the Register, and who have read *extracts*, in the newspapers, relative to the growth of the *Locust*, have written to me, to know *whether I have any of the plants, or seeds*.—Some one will write to these gentlemen for me ; but their best way will be to borrow of some friend the Registers of 29th November and of the 6th December.

—Several gentlemen have written to me to know if I can *keep the trees for them till the month of March*. This will be very inconvenient, on account of my want of room ; and for several other reasons, amongst which is, the great danger of mistakes, from the unacquaintance of my people with the business. I shall be very happy to oblige any body in this way that I can ; but this is what I would advise, because it is what I always did myself ; and because my plantations always succeeded. Let me (while it is in my head) observe that those pretty little creatures, the *hares*, are most destructive devils amongst young trees ; and that they are particularly fond of the *Locust*, which they will bark after they get to be as big as your leg. To advise any man who has hares to destroy them, I know to be in vain. But he may keep them out of his plantations pretty well ; and if he cannot do this, he had better not plant. This puts me in mind of a passage in *Thomson's Seasons*, in which the poet calls upon "Britain's youth" not to be so cruel as to pursue the timid *inoffensive hare* ; but to put forth all their "*generous ardour*," in order to destroy the "*nightly robber of the fold*."—What poor snivelling philosophy ! Pope would not have said this. The fox very seldom, if ever, robs the fold, and very rarely even the hen-roost. He lives chiefly upon wild animals, and amongst these you are to count great quantities of field-mice that he destroys ; while the hare is, indeed, the most timid ; but, except the rabbit, certainly the most mischievous animal in existence. She will cut you off

two or three hundred young trees in a night, out of mere sport. She will stand up upon her hind legs, nip off the leading shoot of a tree more than three feet from the ground, and this out of pure mischief, for she does not eat a bit of it. I once planted some small trees in rows very close together. The hares did more mischief amongst these trees in one single night, than the foxes had done in the hen-roots of the farm in twenty years. —When people write about SEASONS, they should understand something about country affairs, and not be little sinecure place-men, pent up in London. —I now return to the keeping of Trees. I always proceeded thus. I prepared a piece of ground, if I had not enough in my garden. I got my trees in the fall, as near as possible to the spot where I wanted to plant them out. I laid them nicely by the heels, and *not too thick*; dug the ground *deep* as I laid them in. Made the earth very fine that I put amongst their roots; pressed the earth nicely down upon the roots. Made the rows about two feet asunder, in order to be able to walk between them; then, when my ground was quite ready in the Spring, I took them as they were wanted, and planted them out. This is what I would recommend to others. All my trees, at Kensington, are seedlings. They all ought to be put into a nursery for two years, except the Locusts, the Hickorys, and the Walnuts; and these may all be planted out at once. The Persimons, and the Tulip-trees, though they grow so finely in two or three years' time, are poor little

miserable things now, and require to be very nicely put into a nursery. Rows, eighteen inches apart, and about six inches apart in the row. I should not sell some of these sorts, on account of their smallness, if I could conveniently give them place next Summer. However, if gentlemen have them now, and are not afraid of *over-working their gardeners*, or of robbing them of a few rods of that ground on which they usually raise so many wagon loads of cabbages and lettuces to be flung away; if gentlemen be afraid of neither of these, why not buy the trees small, and let them grow up under their own eye? As to sowing the seed, that would, I am aware, be an *innovation* little short of a revolution in horticulture; and, gentlemen have seen too much of the "sad effects of" revolution in a neighbouring "country." —I would recommend, for the sake of *safety*, the taking of the trees away as soon as we can get them ready, as long as the weather continues open; for I shall, by no means, attempt to move them, if there be frost. —I hope that all letters will be answered before the end of this week; but, if they should not, all the gentlemen that have written to me, and whose letters I have received, shall be supplied with the number of trees that they have written for. If I cannot furnish them all of the *classes* required, I shall come as near to it as I can. —I must say that I feel great satisfaction and great pride at the interest that I have been able to excite, as to this important matter. It is now much about eighteen years since I first entertained the wish and

the design to introduce this timber into England. Sometimes it was driven out of my head for two or three years together. My trees at Botley often reminded me of it; but when I was in America this last time, I begun to think that it was high time to set seriously about the business. This, after all, will be the greatest work of my life. I know it will *change the face of this country*. And when I say this country, I include Scotland and Ireland. It will be utterly impossible that men should suffer elms and willows and limes and birches and such like rubbish to occupy the ground where a locust will stand. I should like to see the thing tried; and if any gentleman will find the land, I will give the seed or the plants or something: I should like to see a plantation made, in which the locust would be pitted against the rascally Scotch fir. My real opinion is, that the locust would beat the fir, even upon Bagshot Heath. I should very much like to see the thing tried; and, if any gentleman, have a mind, let him write to me on the subject. I mean to do it upon a *small scale*, of course. Those gentlemen who have not read the two Registers in which I have spoken of these trees and of their growth, may see a *window sill*, at the Office of the Register, and they will please to observe that that sill was cut out of the limb of a tree which was only *seven inches through*. This tree, as I observed before, *grew at Fulham*. I have sent about two hundred little blocks of the wood as specimens, to be given to any gentleman who may call at the Office, or to be sent into the country. These blocks all come

out of a tree grown at Fulham. I have only one small piece that came from America, and that is intended to make stocks for the wheels of a mail-coach. I have sent some pieces of the wood (grown at Fulham, mind,) to be made into RULES, and thus to supply the place of *box*. Now, if it should supply the place of *box* (and I am satisfied it will do it perfectly well), how beneficial to the country, the cultivation of this tree; for, observe, a large sum of money is sent out of the country every year to pay for the box-wood that comes from *Italy* and the *Levant*! — The *Botanical* name of the *Locust* is, *ROBINIA PSEUDO-ACACIA*. There are about *fifteen sorts* of this tree; some with very small leaves, some with narrow and pointed leaves, and others larger and *more round*. That which the Americans call the *Locust*, has rather a round leaf. There are as many of these trees now standing in KEW GARDENS, as are worth, I should think, TWENTY THOUSAND POUNDS! And that, perhaps, is five times the worth of all the rest of the trees in those gardens. I saw them in full leaf last summer, and they are of the true *Locust*. The *Tamarind-tree* is a *Locust*; and the fruit or *pod* of it was eaten by *John the Baptist*. There is one *Locust* in America, that bears a pod and fruit precisely of the *shape* and *size* of the *Tamarind*; and the pod has, when the seed is getting ripe, a sweet glutinous matter in it. This is called the *Honey Locust*. The wood is as good as that of this *Locust*; but, the tree does not grow any thing like so fast, nor does it attain to such a size.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

I PROMISED, in my last, to do a great many things, which I have not room now to do. I was so strongly impressed with the importance of the subject of my letter to the Yeomen of Herefordshire, that I could not refrain from devoting to it the greater part of my room; and I cannot now refrain from beseeching my readers to think seriously of the matters treated of in that letter. I beg them to recollect, that there is not, in the whole world, a nation that does not desire to see us pulled down. I beg them to recollect that a nation so great never yet maintained its lofty station except it openly, boldly and perseveringly, and as a matter of course, assumed and maintained a tone of *mastership*. I beg them once more to think of what I have said about the United States. Towards that country, as well as towards the family of Bourbon, there is *one line* for England to pursue; one line both *safe* and *efficient*; and *only that one*. It would be worse than *useless*, to be, at present, *more explicit*. To *describe* it, and *not pursue* it, would be mischievous; and it is *sure* not to be pursued by the men, at present, in power. This much I will say, however, that if Mr. CANNING will make me the master of the "*inkstand*," for only eight-and-forty hours (and, upon my word, I should

have no desire to possess it any longer), I would treat Monsieur de CHATEAUBRIAND and Mr. MUNRO to an epistle apiece that should make them feel more *cool* and much more *modest* than they appear to have felt for a very considerable length of time.

POSTSCRIPT.

(17th December)

Since the above was written, I have received *some Apples* from America. I shall send specimens to a dozen or two of persons, and deposit a basket full to be seen in Fleet-street. There are several of the Fall Pippins, each of which weighs a pound; though they have lost much of their weight by the heat of the vessel. The Fall Pippins were rotten in the proportion of about nine out of ten; the Newtown Pippins, and other apples, not in so great a proportion; but all, as I observed in a Register some time back, have lost much of their flavour, and particularly the Fall Pippins, which were dead ripe in October. It is impossible, however, to see these apples, without wishing to make the like grow in England. To get them quite so fine without a *wall*, is not to be expected; but who would not, if he were able, employ a wall for the purpose?

I have, myself, left, this day, two of these Fall Pippins and three Newtown Pippins, at the Rooms of the Horticultural Society, in London.

MARKETS.

**Average Prices of CORN through-
out ENGLAND, for the week end-
ing 6th December.**

	Per Quarter.	s.	d.
Wheat	51	10	
Rye	32	0	
Barley	28	4	
Oats	21	7	
Beans	36	0	
Peas	34	8	

Corn Exchange, Mark Lane.

**Quantities and Prices of British
Corn, &c. sold and delivered in
this Market, during the week ended
Saturday, 6th December.**

	Qrs.	£.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Wheat	7,486 for 20,459	0	6	Average, 54	8	
Barley	5,111....	7,285	19	8	28	6
Oats	7,529....	9,126	6	7	24	2
Rye	30....	51	16	0	34	6
Beans	1,658....	3,151	4	2	8	0
Peas	1,369....	2,456	8	5	35	10

**Quarters of English Grain, &c.
arrived Coastwise, from Dec. 8
to Dec. 13, inclusive.**

Wheat..10,112	Pease...3,647
Barley...8,017	Tares..... 10
Malt ...8,724	Linseed.... —
Oats...15,128	Rape..... 16
Rye..... 59	Brank..... 33
Beans...3,080	Mustard... 80

**Various Seeds, 281; and Hemp,
100 qrs.—Flour, 18,682 sacks.**

From Ireland.—Oats, 2,410 qrs.

Foreign.—Linseed, 830 qrs.

**Friday, Dec. 12.—The arrivals
of all sorts of Corn since Monday
have been good. Wheat has sold
freely at 2s. per quarter advance on**

the prices of Monday last. Barley
sells heavily at last quotations.
Beans and Peas find buyers on the
same terms as at the beginning of
this week. Oats find buyers readily,
and support the rates quoted on
Monday.

**Monday, Dec. 15.—There was a
very large arrival of all descrip-
tions of Grain last week, also a
considerable quantity of Flour.
This morning the fresh supplies of
all sorts of Grain are short. The
top price of Flour being established
at 55s. per sack, with a good sale
for that article, has occasioned a
free trade for Wheat to-day, and
the stands are nearly cleared, at
an advance on the prices of this
day se'nnight of 3s. to 4s. per qr.**

There being some demand for
Barley to ship from hence, has oc-
casioned this article to experience
a rise of full 2s. per quarter on the
terms quoted last Monday. Beans
being short in quantity to-day, have
risen 1s. per quarter. Grey Peas
are 1s. per quarter dearer. Boiling
Peas have advanced 1s. to 2s. per
quarter. Oats find a ready sale,
and obtain full as good terms as
this day se'nnight, and such parcels
as are perfectly dry obtain rather
more money. Rye as a substitute
for Coffee is further advanced 6s.
to 8s. per quarter.

**Flour, per sack50s. to 55s.
—— Secords45s. — 48s.
—— North Country ..40s. — 44s.**

COUNTRY CORN MARKETS.

By the QUARTER, excepting where otherwise named; from Wednesday to Saturday last, inclusive.

The Scotch Markets are the Returns of the Week before.

WHEAT.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Uxbridge, per load	11l.	0s.	16l.	15s.
Aylesbury... ditto	10l.	0s.	14l.	0s.
Newbury	36	0	—	72 0
Reading	42	0	—	63 0
Henley	38	0	—	63 0
Banbury	44	0	—	54 0
Devizes	44	0	—	68 0
Warminster	44	0	—	66 0
Sherborne	0	0	—	0 0
Dorchester, per load ...	10l.	0s.	15l.	10s.
Exeter, per bushel	8	0	—	8 6
Lewes	0	0	—	0 0
Guildford, per load	0l.	0s.	0l.	0s.
Winchester, ditto	10l.	10s.	17l.	0s.
Basingstoke	44	0	—	68 0
Chelmsford, per load ..	9l.	0s.	14l.	10s.
Yarmouth	48	0	—	54 0
Hungerford	42	0	—	64 0
Lynn	36	0	—	50 0
Horncastle	42	0	—	52 0
Stamford	40	0	—	57 0
Northampton	42	0	—	53 0
Truro, 24 galls. to a bush.	21	0	—	0 0
Swansea, per bushel	8	0	—	0 0
Nottingham	47	6	—	0 0
Derby, 34 quarts to bush.	48	0	—	60 0
Newcastle	36	0	—	60 0
Dalkeith, per boll *	18	0	—	29 0
Haddington, ditto*	23	6	—	33 0

* The Scotch boll is 3 per cent more than 4 bushels.

Liverpool, Dec. 9.—The importations have been few, as may be observed in the annexed list of arrivals since this day se'nnight, and the demand for every description of Grain since Tuesday last was very feeble throughout the last week. The market of this day having been but sparingly attended by dealers, I have no alteration to note from the prices last quoted, beyond that of there being a plentiful supply of Flour in the market, this article has declined in value 2s. per sack.

Imported into Liverpool, from the 2d to the 8th December 1823 inclusive:—Wheat, 1,006; Oats, 3,329; Barley, 801; and Malt, 30 quarters. Oatmeal, 24 packs, per 240 lbs. Flour, 240 sacks.

Norwich, Dec. 13.—Owing to the advance during the week at Mark-lane, expectations were raised of higher prices here to-day than were realized, the news of Friday's market having rather thrown a damp on the trade. Wheat fetched from 46s. to 54s.; (superior things a trifle more); Barley, 26s. to 29s. per qr.; other sorts in proportion.

Bristol, Dec. 13.—Very little variation appears in the prices of Corn in our markets since this day week. Supply still continues moderate. —Best Wheat from 7s. 9d. to 8s.; inferior ditto, 5s. to 6s. 6d.; Barley, 2s. 6d. to 4s.; Beans, 3s. 6d. to 5s. 3d.; Oats, 2s. to 2s. 10d.; and Malt, 4s. 6d. to 6s. 9d. per bushel. Flour, Seconds, 30s. to 45s. per bag.

Birmingham, Dec. 11.—We have an increased demand for Wheat and Flour to-day; the former at an advance of about 3d. per 60 lbs., and the latter 1s. to 2s. per sack. For Wheat the demand lies more particularly on Old, the supply of which is short; there is plenty of New at market, and much of it of fine and dry quality. There is no lack of Flour. A good show of Barley; sales limited, and prices 1s. to 2s. per quarter lower. Other articles of the trade without variation. Prices:—Old Wheat, 6s. 10d. to 7s. 4d., and New, 6s. 2d. to 6s. 6d. per 60 lbs.; Barley, 26s. to 30s. per quarter; Malt, 6s. 6d. to 7s. per bushel; Oats, 22s. to 30s. per qr.; Beans, 14s. 6d. to 16s. per 10 scores; Peas, 36s. to 48s. per quarter. Fine Flour, 42s. to 45s.; and Seconds, 38s. to 40s. per sack.

Ipswich, Dec. 13.—Our market to-day was well supplied with all

Grain, and every thing was dearer. Prices as follow:—Old Wheat, 54s. to 62s.; New ditto, 44s. to 56s.; Barley, 22s. to 31s.; Beans, 32s. to 34s.; Peas, 31s.; and Oats, 20s. to 24s. per quarter.

Wisbech, Dec. 13.—Our market was rather brisk in the sale of dry samples of Wheat, which fetched from 50s. to 54s. per quarter. No apparent advance on second sorts. Beans and Oats rather brisk in demand at a small advance.

Wakefield, Dec. 12.—We have a good supply of all kinds of Grain for the season; but having many buyers, fine Wheats, both new and old, are ready sale at an advance of full 2s. per quarter; secondary and inferior samples also go off at rather better prices.—No alteration in Meal and Oats; but Shelling may be noted full 1s. per load higher.—Malting Barley of every description is more in demand, and may be noted 1s. per quarter higher.—No alteration in Malt, Beans, Peas, Flour, or Rapeseed.

COUNTRY

CATTLE AND MEAT MARKETS, &c.

At *Morpeth* market on Wednesday, there was a very great supply of Cattle and Sheep; being many buyers, fat sold readily at a little advance in price.—Beef from 4s. 6d. to 5s. 6d.; and Mutton 4s. to 5s. 3d. per stone, sinking offals.

Banbury Great Market last week was well supplied with Beef. There was also as full a supply of Mutton as is usually penned at this market. Beef made from 4½d. to 5d. per lb., prime 6d. but the sale was not brisk. Mutton was also dull sale, and late prices barely supported.

Norwich Castle Meadow, Dec. 13.—The trade much the same as for some weeks past, viz: from 3s. 6d. to 5s. per stone for lean Bullocks.

The weather continuing open, is highly favourable to the diminished and diminishing Turnip crop.

Horncastle, Dec. 13.—Beef 5s. to 6s. per stone of 14 lbs.; Mutton 4d. to 5d.; Pork 5d. to 5½d.; and Veal 6d. to 7d. per lb.

Bristol, Dec. 11.—Beef at 5d. to 6d.; Mutton 5d. to 5½d.; and Pork 4½d. to 5d. per lb. sinking offal.

City, 17 December 1862.

BACON.

There is very little demand for consumption just now; and upon the whole the trade is dull.—On board, 45s. to 46s.—Landed, 49s. to 50s.—Pork, landed, 46s. to 50s.

BUTTER.

There are no buyers, except amongst those who are in want; and they are very reluctant to give the present prices. It is well known that the retailers can make no profit; and as the failures amongst them continue to go on, the wholesale dealers are out of heart at the prospect before them.—On board: Carlisle, 90s. to 92s.—Belfast, 88s. to 90s.—Dublin, 86s.—Waterford, 84s. to 86s.—Limerick, 84s.—Cork, 86s.—Landed: Carlisle, 90s. to 93s.—Belfast, 90s.—Dublin, 86s.—Waterford, 84s. to 86s.—Limerick, 84s.—Cork, 84s. to 85s.—N. B. To estimate the cost landed, you must add 3s. per cwt. to the price on board.

CHEESE.

Fine Old Cheshire, 78s. to 84s.;
Middling, 66s. to 74s.; New, 56s. to
64s.—Double Gloucester, 60s. to
64s.; Single, 46s. to 60s.

Price of Bread.—The price of
the 4lb. Loaf is stated at from 7d.
to 9d.

SMITHFIELD, Monday, Dec. 15.

Great Christmas Market.—On
Friday, Beef and Mutton were
about the same as reported in our
last; though the latter was rather
a heavy trade. Some few Beast
were lucky enough to meet with
good customers, at high prices,
but that is always the case at this
season of the year, and cannot ap-
ply to the general trade. To-day
there is the largest shew of Beast
ever known, exceeding, as we hear
in the market, (we have not time
to refer,) any former Christmas
market by 700 head. As expected,
there was an extraordinary quan-
tity of good Beef; prime Norfolks,
and such like, sold freely at 4s. 8d.
per stone; and more money for any
thing thought extraordinary, or that
might suit the fancy. There are
fanciful customers even here some-
times. Mutton is a brisk trade at
an advance; and though we go no
higher than 4s. 4d. yet some choice
pens have gone a shade beyond.
From the crowded state of the mar-

ket, there is an unusual difficulty
in getting the Beast out; their
heads are battered by two or three
drovers at a time, and their eyes in
numerous instances knocked out;
and this from sheer necessity; but
the evil is greatly aggravated by
the passage of carriages on such a
day—it is much to be reprobated,
and loudly calls for an alteration.

Per Stone of 8 pounds (alive).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	3	8	to	4 8
Mutton	3	8	—	4 4
Veal	4	8	—	6 0
Pork	4	4	—	5 2
Beasts ..	4,872		Sheep ...	20,120
Cattle ..	100		Pigs	230

NEWGATE (same day).

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	2	8	to	3 8
Mutton	2	6	—	3 6
Veal	3	0	—	5 0
Pork	3	4	—	5 4

LEADENHALL (same day).

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	2	0	to	3 4
Mutton	2	6	—	3 6
Veal	3	4	—	5 0
Pork	3	0	—	5 0

POTATOES.

SPITALFIELDS.—per Ton.

Ware	£ 2 5	to	£ 4 0
Middlings	1 15	—	2 0
Chats	1 15	—	0 0
Common Red ..	0 0	—	0 0
Onions ..	0s. 0d.—0s. 0d.		per bush.

BOROUGH.—per Ton.

Ware.....	£2 5 to £3 10
Middlings.....	1 15 — 2 0
Chats.....	1 10 — 1 15
Common Red..	0 0 — 0 0
Onions..	0s. 0d.—0s. 0d. per bush.

HAY and STRAW, per Load.

<i>Smithfield.</i> —Hay ..	75s. to 100s.
Straw...	32s. to 40s.
Clover..	80s. to 115s.
<i>St. James's.</i> —Hay...	63s. to 110s.
Straw...	30s. to 42s.
Clover..	80s. to 115s.
<i>Whitechapel.</i> —Hay....	88s. to 105s.
Straw...	36s. to 42s.
Clover..	90s. to 126s.

Price of HOPS, per Cwt. in the BOROUGH.

Monday, Dec. 15.—Our Hop market is gradually improving for

Pockets of the growth of 1821 and 1822, and New fully keep their prices. Accounts from Middle Kent state, a great many dead hills are found upon digging the ground, which have caused an increased demand for Cullings to replace them, but which will not come into bearing till the third year; if this proves general, it will make the holders soon ask higher prices. Currency:—New, 8*l.* 8s. to 14*l.*; 1822, 8*l.* to 10*l.*; 1821, 9s. to 112s.; Old, 60s. to 84s.

Maidstone, Dec. 11.—There was a few lots of Hops offered at this day's market, but the trade continuing so extremely dull we could not hear of any sales being effected.

COAL MARKET, Dec. 12.

Ships at Market. Ships sold. Price.

74½ Newcastle..	22.. 36s. 0d. to 45s. 6d.
74½ Sunderland..	22.. 36s. 0d.—45s. 6d.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY REGISTER.

VOL. 48.—No. 13.] LONDON, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 27, 1823. [Price 6d.]

Published every Saturday Morning, at Seven o'Clock.

A MEMORIAL

ON THE

Apparently approaching War,

Most humbly addressed

TO THE KING.

Kensington, 24th Dec. 1823.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

VERY numerous have been the occasions on which your Majesty was addressed by me, while you was Prince Regent. I warned you, and in good time I warned you, of the consequences of the late war with the United States. I foretold the successful resistance that you would meet with. Such disgrace as our arms incurred, it was next to impossible for any one to foresee; but the grand result; namely, the speedy creation of an American navy, was distinctly predicted; and your Majesty was earnestly besought by me to think betimes of the effect of such creation. At divers

other epochs, you were warned of the consequences that your Ministers were pursuing. In those times, when your Majesty's fleets were gaining victories on the Serpentine River, and when the Parliament was voting millions of pounds sterling for the purpose of erecting monuments to perpetuate what were called the glories of the war; at those times the hirelings of all sorts, reproached me with mourning amidst the "general joy;" with weeping over my country's triumphs. My answer was: Your joy is foolishness; your triumphs are disgraces: in return for your present reproaches, I will, when the time comes, laugh while your knees knock together. Thank God the millions of money were not expended in the erection of monuments. One boasting name has been stupidly given to a bridge; and one monstrous and indecent statue has been erected, expressive of falsehood and exhibiting a mark of national lewdness. The millions, however, have not been expended in this way.

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This much of good has, at any rate, come out of the evil: the poverty arising from the dear purchase of the triumphs, has taken away the ability to render our shame as immortal as stone and mortar could have made it.

For several years past, your Majesty has been advised to open the Sessions of Parliament by stating your *great satisfaction* at those "*strongest assurances*," which you continued to receive of the *peaceful* disposition of other Powers. I always thought this unwise. For a King to take every opportunity of expressing his *satisfaction* at seeing no prospect of war, appeared to me to say that the King would have been *afraid* of war, if threatened with it: and, I have always understood that, in order to preserve peace, you must let those who are naturally opposed to you, see that you are *not afraid of war*. Be this as it may, I can hardly believe, that your Majesty will be advised to tell the Parliament in February next, that you continue to receive, from all other powers, the *strongest assurances of a peaceful disposition*. Yet, you will receive those assurances; for, so curious is the position of your Majesty's kingdom become, that the *peace of the world*, that peace the most general and the most perfect; that the preserving of all the present relationships between your Majesty and all other powers, is precisely the thing and the only thing wanted by those powers who envy us all that we possess, and who are determined to make us, if possible, as little as we have been great. Little, in all likelihood, did your Majesty imagine that such would be the effect of that peace-loving,

that Holy Alliance, of which your Ministers expressed your Royal approbation.

Seven clear years have not yet passed over our heads, when the war trumpet begins again to blow; and begins, too, on the part of those very Ministers of your Majesty, who so exulted and were so praised, because they had, as it was asserted, rendered the disturbing of the peace of Europe *impossible*. I beseech your Majesty, not to listen to those who speak to you nothing but soft and smooth things. I beseech you not to bestow your exclusive attention to those who present you with nothing but *flattering pictures*. In the hope that you will not regard flattery as the test of loyalty, I shall beseech your Majesty to look at the picture which this kingdom is now actually exhibiting to the world.

I take it for granted that it will be admitted that the writings in the Courier newspaper, contain (when they treat of matters relating to peace and war), matter which your Majesty's Ministers wish to have promulgated. I take this for granted. Of course, in referring to those articles, I refer to documents expressive of the sentiments and designs of those Ministers. What, then, is the picture which this kingdom now exhibits to the world? Perhaps, the following little notice from the paper just mentioned, may serve very appropriately, to place in the foreground of this picture:

"We understand notice has been given to the Army Surgeons and Assistant-Surgeons, on half-pay, that *their services are likely to be soon required*.
"The new levy is to be raised by

"BEAT OF DRUM, and orders
"have been issued, with a view
"to the more expeditious raising of
"the men, for the officers em-
"ployed to repair to those parts
"of the kingdom in which they
"may be supposed to possess the
"most influence."

By beat of DRUM! It has been asked, whether this beat be intended to draw together English clodhoppers, or to disperse the Holy Brotherhood, about to assemble in Congress to discuss the affairs of America. Wretched creatures who are starving upon half-a-crown a week, without clothing, lodging or firing, want nothing to induce them to cast off the old sacks and hay-bands from their bodies; to quit their toil in the gravel-pits; and to come and be clothed in good woollens and linens; to live a life of ease, and to have seven shillings and sevenpence a week, besides lodging and firing and candle. "*Beat of Drum*," is, therefore, unnecessary for them. The beat of drum, must, then, I should think, be intended for the other purpose; that is to say, to frighten the *Holy Allies*; and, particularly, the French.

Before I proceed any further; before I say more of the *picture* of which I have spoken, I will insert for your Majesty's perusal, first, an article from the *Madrid Gazette*; that is to say, an article written in Paris and sent to be printed and published at Madrid. Next, I will insert a commentary of the *Courier*, upon this *Madrid* article. When I have done that, I shall humbly beseech your Majesty to look at the singular figure that we make.

From the Madrid Gazette, 4th Dec. 1823, published in the Courier on the 16th Dec.

"ON THE STATE OF THE TWO AMERICAS.

"We have already said, that the *Courier* of London affirms that Spanish America is independent *de facto*, and consequently *de jure*. We find ourselves compelled to say, that the *Courier* sees through a telescope which misrepresents to his eyes the Empire of the Incas. In fact, he expects his readers to believe, on the authority of his assertions, facts the least credible in the minds of impartial men. The question must be solved by logical argument, which, though ancient, has the advantage of being more reasonable, more just, and less arbitrary.—A Province is called independent *de facto*, which being an integral portion of a kingdom, lives tranquil under a Government, and enjoys its protection, paying at the same time to the said Government the just tribute of obedience. Let the *Courier* examine under this point of view the Viceroyalty of Lower Peru, from the sources of the Rhine to its mouth; let him contemplate from the fertile valley of Jauja, the immense provinces of Huancavelica, Huamanga, and Arequipa, and he will see how, from all quarters, the subject Peruvians pay the homage which they owe, receive commands, demand justice, and solicit pardons, of the ancient metropolis of Cusco, in which Lieutenant General Don Joseph de la Serna (Viceroy of His Catholic Majesty) has fixed his residence since the year 1821.—Let the *Courier* elevate his telescope a little, and, leaving the Cordilleras of the Andes, look to Upper Peru, and he will see the tranquil and subject jurisdictions of La Paz, Oruro, Chuquisaca, Cochabamba, Potosi, and Santa-Cruz-de-la-Sierra, which, abjuring the pretended felicity of their metropolis, Buenos Ayres, find themselves happy under the paternal Government of the delegated Representative in those States of our beloved Sovereign. Let his scrutinizing eyes dwell here awhile, and he will see that the orders dictated by La Serna are executed in the provinces of Peru with as much regularity as those of George IV. in Great Britain; that from all quarters merchants arrive in the intermediate ports, to exchange the rich metals

they produce for cloths which are exported from the banks of the Thames, and all the pieces of coin which they receive in return are ornamented with the effigy of Ferdinand VII. And in spite of all these truths, which the Journalists of the Court of London are thoroughly convinced of, how can the *Courier* venture to affirm that this portion of Spanish America is *independent de facto*?—Perhaps he is ignorant that the Insurgents are only masters of the district of Trujillo and a small portion of that of Tarma, whose unfortunate inhabitants neglect no means to rid themselves of the iron yoke which is imposed upon them by violence, as the parties of Guanuco and Conchucos have frequently manifested by earnestly soliciting the aid of the Royal army. Perhaps he is ignorant that all the popular commotions which that country has sustained since the year 1821, were ephemeral, and provoked by revolutionary enthusiasts?—And who kept them in subjection? who made them bite the dust in the fields of Guaqui, Villapugio, Ayohuma, Viluca and others, if it was not the Peruvians? Let them answer the question, the Generals Goyeneche, Pezuela and Ramirez, who had the honour of heading them in these glorious battles, and who now live happily in this capital. Ask these Generals who wove the laurel wreaths which adorn their brows, if it was not the Peruvians, who caused to vanish, like smoke, the famed armies of Colombia, Buenos Ayres, and Chili, which, in the year 1820, styled themselves masters of the ancient empire of Manco-Capac?—Who were they who routed 4,000 insurgents at Ica on the 26th April, 1822, and the same force at Moquega, on the 21st of last January? Who were they, if it was not the Peruvians, who, entering triumphantly into Lima, in the month of June last, accompanied by their relatives, and animated by the most lively joy, replaced amidst re-echoing *Vivats* the portrait of our King, which some wretched adventurers had profaned during the space of four years?

“And who were they, if not the Peruvians, who forced these adventurers shamefully to retreat and shut themselves up, covered with opprobrium, in the forts of Callao? And in the face of these facts, which fame has promulgated even to the banks of the Thames, how can the *Courier* venture to advance that Spanish America

is *independent de facto*? If, however, any doubt remain in his mind, let him compare the Royal army to that of the Insurgents, their resources and their economy, the civil and political virtues of La Serna and his companions in arms, firm in their fidelity to our august Monarch, and the exorable lives of Torrelagüe and his satellites; the fraternal union of the former, whose sole care is the preservation of the provinces, which the goodness of their Sovereign has confided to them, and the inconsistency of the latter, divided by differences of opinion, diversity of interests, by opposite sentiments, and the fatal contact of passions.—But this object must be separately treated of, as well as the heterogeneous elements which compose the miserable and insignificant revolutionary army, and the necessity of annihilating them before they become homogeneous, and ere that, united, they occasion greater evils than those which we have hitherto endured. These, we repeat, and other matters, we shall successively discuss with the distinctness and truth which an affair of such importance requires.”

Answer of the Courier.

“The question of South American Independence is becoming, daily, one of increasing interest and importance; not only from its manifest connection with the policy of the leading Continental Cabinets, but from its specific relations with British commerce. The sentiments of the Spanish Government, with regard to its transatlantic Colonies, are of moment only as they may be considered to speak the sentiments, and, by inference, to announce the corresponding designs, of one or more of the Allies of Spain. Of, and by, herself, Spain can do nothing to recover a single inch of the territories she has lost, and she must be fully convinced of her own powerless condition. When, therefore, we find, as in the demi-official article from the *Madrid Gazette*, which we published on Tuesday, not only a broad denial of a notorious fact, namely, that nearly the whole of what were once the Spanish Colonies of America, are now independent of the mother country, but a distinct intimation that the attempt must be made to ‘annihilate,’ what is called ‘the insignificant revolutionary army’ there, we are warranted in supposing that at least a strong disposition

exists in certain quarters to extend the practical operation of the principle which produced the late Spanish war, across the Atlantic. Upon that point, however, we shall not now touch, but wait until we see this disposition ripening into activity. Our present purpose is to establish by a series of conclusive facts, the position we have advanced, and which has been so intrepidly denied by the *Madrid Gazette*, that the whole of South America, with the exception of a portion of Peru, is, *de facto*, independent. We shall only premise, what will strike every one, who is at all conversant with the subject, that our information has been derived from authentic and valuable sources. We shall begin with Mexico, because the events connected with that country have been much less before the public than those of Colombia, Chili, and Peru, and because our information from that quarter happens to be of very recent date. Mexico has a population of somewhat above eight millions, and Spain has not had a single soldier, governor, commandant, or recognised authority, in the whole country for the last two years and a half. The only semblance of possession still retained, by the Mother Country, is the occupation of the castle of St. John de Ulloa, by General Lemour, with a force of about three hundred soldiers. This castle is situated on a small island, or rather swamp, near Vera Cruz, which city has suffered much, but not to the extent stated, from a bombardment of it by Lemour. The consequences of this hostile proceeding on the part of Lemour, have been, as we yesterday stated, that the Spanish Commissioners who were negotiating with the Mexican Government for favourable conditions of future intercourse with the Mother Country, upon the basis of recognising the independence of Mexico, were peremptorily dismissed—all Spaniards ordered to quit the country—and the commerce of the port of Vera Cruz removed to the port of Alvarado. A Declaration of War has also been formally declared against Spain by the Mexican Government. But it has been asked, 'Who or what the Mexican Government is?' The Executive Government of Mexico is composed of three Members, at the head of which is General Victoria, a man of superior powers, and of whose singularly romantic history we have heard most extraordinary and curious details. All persons who have had opportunities of approaching him, and observing

his character, speak of him as a second Washington, uniting, at once, the active talents of a soldier, the prudence and sagacity of a statesman, and the wisdom of a legislator. Under his auspices Mexico is about to receive a central form of Government, with a Congress, which was to meet on the 31st of October, when the Constitution would be definitely settled. We may soon expect, therefore, to hear something of the proceedings of this Congress. VICTORIA looks with great anxiety to England, and would eagerly embrace any opportunity of establishing permanent relations with this country. The British residents at Vera Cruz, have, of course, suffered much inconvenience, and some loss, from the hostile attack of Lemour, and at the date of our last advices from that city, (October 11,) were sending all their property into the interior. The town was almost deserted. Victoria was of opinion that it must be sacrificed, if necessary, for the national honour and character. It was determined not to open the port again, until the castle of St. John de Ulloa had surrendered. Victoria afforded every protection to our countrymen which it was in his power to do. He was urged to conclude an armistice with Lemour, to enable the British to remove their property. He acceded to every thing that could be reasonably asked, but Lemour would listen to nothing but a general arrangement of differences. An armistice would not suit him.—The querist who wished to know, 'Who or what the Mexican Government is?' showed he stood much in need of information, for he followed up his interrogatory by the following statement:—'For our own part,' says he 'all we know is, that Mexico was some time ago distracted by civil wars, and an adventurer named Iturbide proclaimed himself Emperor. This gentleman's Imperial dignity evaporated more quickly than that of the Corsican Charlatan; but Iturbide contrived to escape with a good round sum of money, and is living in splendour somewhere in the Continent of Europe.' The fact is, Iturbide, who really raised himself to temporary power, by means of a faction, was driven from his elevation by the voice of the nation at large. He was a mere adventurer, and had recommended himself so little to popular favour, that when he attempted to escape, after his deposition, the populace arrested his flight by cutting the harness from the horses. Nor did he contrive to

escape with a good round sum.' The present Government of Mexico honourably recognised all the debts he incurred during his short reign; undertook to replace to private individuals, the convoys of money seized by him on their way from Mexico to Vera Cruz; and granted to Iturbide himself, the yearly sum of 25,000 dollars, on condition that he should reside in Italy, whither he was subsequently conveyed, with his family, in an English vessel, at the expense of the Mexican Government.—Having touched upon these incidental topics, for the purpose of putting our readers in possession of the most accurate and most recent information respecting them, we shall now briefly advert to the main consideration, namely, has Mexico established her independence? So far as a complete separation from the Mother Country—a successful renunciation of her authority, and a determined spirit to resist all attempts, if any should be made, to regain that authority, may be received as evidences of independence, Mexico is to all intents and purposes, independent. There is no province, city, or town, throughout that vast empire, where a Spanish party can be said to exist, and the measure which has been adopted, according to the last accounts, of ordering out of the country all the old Spaniards, in consequence of the conduct of Lemour, will effectually relieve it from those partial intrigues which, although too insignificant to subvert the existing order of things, might still be potent enough to harass and agitate the Government. It appears too, that French emissaries have been at work there; but their machinations were detected, and themselves thrown into prison. It may perhaps be in our power, ere long, to communicate some curious information upon this subject.—Well then; here is a somewhat difficult task, we think, for the *Madrid Gazette*, to prove that Mexico is not, *de facto*, independent; unless it should be prepared to assert that the three hundred men cooped up with Lemour in the castle of St. John de Ulloa constitute the sovereignty of the Mother Country. We do not say that Mexico has passed through her transition from connexion to separation, and consolidated all her institutions. This must necessarily be a work of time, but we have a security, in the unanimous feeling of the Mexicans themselves, that there will be no reaction in favour of Old Spain, and we have the no less important security,

in the character and talents of Victoria, that the progress towards tranquillity and a settled form of Government will be steady and certain.—We must resume this subject to-morrow, for it would engross too much of our room to enter now upon the consideration of the other South American Republics. In what we have said, we have studiously confined ourselves to those facts which prove the independence, *de facto*, of Mexico: On some future occasion we shall submit to our readers a mass of information in our possession, demonstrative of the value and importance of that independence to England.—The power of Spain, in Mexico, is limited to the occupation of a solitary castle on the sea coast; and in Columbia, it does not extend beyond the possession of a single fortress at Puerto Cabello. It is doubtful, indeed, whether, at the moment of writing this, the flag of Old Spain continues to wave over its towers; for, the last accounts represented the preparations which had been made for reducing it, both by sea and land, as of so extensive a kind, that it has probably long since fallen.—The Republic of Columbia comprises the provinces of Venezuela, New Grenada, and Quito, and here, for thirteen years, a contest has been maintained against the efforts of the Mother Country. In 1814, immediately after the return of Ferdinand; Morillo landed in Caracas with ten thousand veteran troops from the Peninsula.—At that time, the Spaniards held every fortress in Colombia, while Bolivar absolutely could not command a thousand muskets in his whole army. The war commenced—reinforcements were sent out from Spain, and every effort which Spain could make, (under circumstances ten times more favourable for exertion than she can now command), was made; yet—one by one, fortresses, cities, towns, and villages, have renounced her domination, and formed themselves into a Republic which has now, for years, exercised all the acts of an independent Power. There is not, with a single exception of Puerto-Cabello, any one portion of that vast territory, which extends from the Atlantic to the Pacific, under Spanish dominion, or, in any manner, directly or indirectly, recognising the authority of Spain. On the contrary, a regular form of government has been established with a representative assembly, in which, as we are assured, *viva voce* discussions are carried on, that would do no discredit to similar assemblies in

countries much more civilised. Of their real merits, however, we may expect soon to have the means of judging, for we believe it is intended that reports of their proceedings shall appear. Great and persevering exertions too, are making to extend the benefits of education to all classes of the community, by the establishment of schools where tuition is carried on upon the Lancasterian system. In short, it would be impossible to name any one essential act of sovereignty which has not been performed by Colombia; and yet we are to be told that it is premature, nay, even untrue, to assert that Colombia is *de facto* an independent State.—With respect to Buenos Ayres, the same may be said as we have affirmed of Colombia. It has been free these twelve years, and there does not exist, nor has there existed for a very long period, a single Spanish soldier, officer, or authority of any description, that can give even the semblance of a connexion between this State and the Mother Country. Dissensions have, indeed, taken place here, as in Mexico, upon the question of how they will govern themselves, and whether a federative or a central Government shall be established; but in all these disputes, and in all the ministerial and other official changes to which they have, from time to time, led, no party has ever stood forth to recommend a re-union with Spain. They may quarrel, it seems, upon all other things; but, upon this point, a perfect unanimity of sentiment prevails. A silly inference has been attempted to be drawn from this circumstance against the validity of the general arguments in support of the actual Independence of South America, as if all history did not teach us that a people unanimous not to be ruled in a certain way, no sooner get thus far, than they forthwith begin to dispute about the way they will be ruled. We are quite aware of the sound conclusion thence to be drawn, against trying rash experiments of political change; but our present business is not with principles, but with facts; and we affirm the fact to be, that with the exception of Peru, in no one portion of what were formerly the Colonies of Spain can now be found a party, scarcely indeed, an individual, desirous of re-establishing the ancient relations. There is a wide difference between determining what we will not do, and what we will: the first is often easily resolved upon, and no less easily performed:

but it is the latter which sets at work all our passions, opinions, schemes, and passions.—What has been said of Mexico, Colombia, and Buenos Ayres, may be equally affirmed of Chili. Spain is not in possession of an inch of land throughout that vast territory; Peru, as we have already observed, is the only part of South America where there is a Royalist force in any strength, and the *Madrid Gazette*, in its demi-official Article, has not neglected to make the best use it could of this remnant of the former dominion of Spain. Of Mexico, of Guatimala, of Colombia, of Buenos Ayres, of Chili, it says nothing; but Peru furnishes it with sounding names, and apparently conclusive facts. We do not intend, in this article, to reply at length to the case made out by the *Madrid Gazette*; but there are one or two points that may be briefly adverted to. It is true there is a Royalist army still in Peru; but we are assured, in letters very recently received from that country, that that army has no power or authority beyond the limits of its military occupation. Most of the events, too, which are mentioned as proofs of the prosperous condition of the Royal cause, occurred many years ago, since which a great change has taken place. Bolivar, according to the last accounts, was marching upon Peru, and expected to be joined by a considerable Chilian army. When he is ready to take the field against Lascerna and Canterac, we may consider the final struggle at hand, and be prepared to learn that the last Spaniards have been driven from the Continent of South America.—The Spanish Government maintained in its Colonies, previously to the Revolution, 50,000 regular troops; and since the Revolution it has despatched reinforcements at different times, to at least the amount of 40,000 more. Where are they now? None have returned to the Peninsula. The contest, in which they have successively perished, has been carried on for fourteen years, without the aid of any foreign power (for the British Legion, whose services were so important in Colombia, scarcely require to be mentioned in the general estimate of the means employed), and during that period we could enumerate the names of upwards of twenty Spanish Generals, including Morillo, Paezuela, Ramirez, Montes, Morales, Cevallos, Correa, Calzadilla, &c. &c. who were forced to abandon the positions they held. What probability then is there

that any force which Spain can send, we might almost say, any force that Europe can send, could ever reduce these vast territories to subjection?"

It is impossible for your Majesty to read a hundredth part of the matter contained in the London newspapers. It is next to impossible for you to be at all acquainted with more than a very small portion of those papers. You know, doubtless, the contents of all despatches which go to, and come from, your Minister for Foreign Affairs. But, Sir, the controversy carried on in the newspapers is of great importance. This is the way in which each Government appeals to its own people; and, for you to know the real state of the dispute, you must know what is put forth, in this manner, relative to that dispute. Yet, I am of opinion that your Majesty seldom sees publications such as those which I am now endeavouring to get under your eye. I shall annex a copy of the Petition, which I addressed to your Majesty from Long Island, in the year 1817. I have recently republished that petition; but I am induced to send forth one more edition of it.

I am satisfied that your Majesty never yet saw (even up to *this hour*); that petition. I am satisfied that you never either *saw* or *heard* of it. I am not sure, but I believe, that your Majesty does not know that there is such a person as William Cobbett now alive; and, I would almost venture to assert, that you no more think that the writings of such a person are worthy of your attention, than you think the buzzing of a wasp or a fly, worthy of your

attention. Far be it from me to found this opinion upon a belief in any negligence or want of talent in your Majesty: such conclusion would be contrary to all the facts, worthy of belief, that I have heard. I found the opinion upon the indefatigableness of those who have the power to stand between you and the press. I am well aware of all the obstacles that writings like mine must have to overcome, before they can get within, even the outer gate of your palace. "Do you think he will pay attention to it?" said a friend to me, when I showed him the Petition of 1817. "No," said I, "nor will he ever see it."—"Why, then, do you write it?"—"Because the nation will read it; and because the time must come, when that nation will be convinced, how wise it would have been in the King to yield to my prayer."

Exactly thus, has it been. Your Majesty, doubtless, saw enough to disgust you, of those calumnies, which the vile London Press were pouring out against me, in the year just named; but, not a word did that Press say, about this Petition, and not a word of that Petition did your Majesty ever see. This being my firm belief, it may be asked why I address your Majesty now? My answer is the same that it was before. It is my duty to state to you what I think upon this important subject. The regulation of recent years, has completely cut off all direct and certain communication between your Majesty and me. If an Englishman could now, as an Englishman formerly could, and as a Frenchman or a Russian now can, put a Memorial

out of his own hand, into that of his Sovereign, that which I am about to say in print, would, probably, not be said in print at all. The Petition of 1817 would never have been in print, if I could have been *sure* that it would have been given into the hand of your Majesty. I am aware, and I was aware in 1817, that it might be made better for the Nation not to publish these things, provided they were actually put into the hand of your Majesty, in Manuscript. But being now cut off, as we are, from all direct communication with our King; being compelled to Petition, in fact, a Secretary of State, if we Petition at all; this being the case, we must resort to the Press; and, where the use of that is denied us, we must keep the matter to ourselves or resort to the Press of some other country.

Not having, then, the most distant hope that your Majesty will ever see this Memorial, I should certainly refrain from what I am now doing, were I not of opinion, that the making use of your Majesty's name will have some effect in drawing attention to the subject. Supposing you, however, in virtue of some unaccountable accident, to confer upon this paper the honour of perusing it, permit me to hold up before you, the *picture* which we now present to the world. A people, except those who live on the Taxes; a whole people, with this exception, plunged in embarrassment, in dread of ruin; or else, suffering the most deplorable bodily misery. The owners of the land; the men of ancient family; the natural Magistracy of the Country, seeing their estates pass away, and seeing themselves

actually driven from their mansions by a race of base Jobbers, the small part of whom, are actually Jews. We see this effect produced by a Debt, contracted for the purpose of putting down, of crushing for ever, "*revolutionary principles*." To effect this purpose, a debt of seven hundred millions, has been contracted. For having successfully waged war against those principles; Lords LIVERPOOL and CASTLE-REACH were made Knights of the Garter, even *before there were vacancies in the Order*. I have before spoken of the victories on the Serpentine River; I have before alluded to the vote of millions to commemorate the triumph over "*Revolutionary principles*;" and I have now laid before your Majesty, from a Ministerial Paper, the "*BEAT OF DRUM*," in favour of the revolutions now going on in South America!

Only twelve months ago, your Majesty's Ministers declared (and they acted upon the declaration), that, let what would take place, "*for this country they were determined to have peace*." In virtue of this *determination*, the French subjugated Spain; took possession of her Fortresses and Ports; and *now*, when the revolutions in South America have been, thus, three parts quelled in reality, by the legitimates; now, there is to be *beat of drum* in England, in favour of of those revolutions!

Your Majesty's Prime Minister called the invasion of Spain by France, a most "*unprovoked aggression*;" so called it, the President of the Board of Trade. Your Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs most devoutly and fervently, and in open Parliament,

prayed for the success of the Spaniards: and the Spaniards not having had success; the Spaniards having been defeated by the French; the Spanish Fortresses, not forgetting Cadiz, having been taken possession of by the French; those who had lately fought with England against the French having been put down by the French; Spain, which had cost England a hundred and fifty millions of money, on the ground that she was the outwork of England and Ireland; this very Spain, having been actually subjugated by the French, your Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who had openly prayed for the success of the Spaniards, orders your Majesty's Envoy to congratulate the King of Spain on the event.

If it were proper to pray for the success of the Spaniards, it was natural to lament their defeat. Those Spaniards who were at the head of affairs when the French entered Spain, had, for the most part, fought on the side of England, during the former war, in order to drive the French out of Spain, and to preserve that outwork to England. Many of these men having had, through the Humanity and generosity of the French, the means of reaching your Majesty's Fortress of Gibraltar, were either *refused permission to land*, or were compelled instantly to quit the Fortreas! Some of them committed themselves to the mercy of the waves; others, fleeing from this English hospitality, sought shelter amongst the barbarians of Africa, who were well known to regard Christians as dogs, and to make them slaves when they can!

And, it is at the very moment

that the Spanish revolutionists are thus treated at Gibraltar; it is at this very moment, that we have rattled in our ears "**THE BEAT OF DRUM**," in support of the South American Revolution!

Your Majesty had, some few years ago, a Knight of the Order of the Bath, whom your Majesty was advised to cashier, not only as a Knight of the Bath, but as a Captain of the Navy: amongst the curious things of the picture which we present to the world, one, and not the least curious, is, that this discarded Knight and Captain, is, at this time, most successfully (as report says), carrying on the war in favour of South American independence; while the Courier tells us, that we at home, are preparing for the same war, by "**BEAT OF DRUM**." Far, however, is this from being all; for, it seems that the gallant cashiered Knight and Captain has selected, as the scene of his exploits, the rich colony of your Majesty's ally, his **MOST FAITHFUL** Majesty, the King of Portugal! But, that which gives peculiar point to this part of the picture, is, the lucky concurrence of these three facts: first, that the Courier proclaims the success of the South American revolution by "**BEAT OF DRUM**;" second, that the only man of note that has been fighting zealously and efficiently in the cause of that revolution, is the very man whom you were advised to strip of the *Order of the Bath*; third, that the colony that he has so mainly assisted to revolutionize, belongs to that **MOST FAITHFUL** Sovereign, whom your Majesty has so recently decorated with the *Order of the Garter*, just after the **MOST**

FAITHFUL person had, (doubtless in consequence of the French having marched into Spain), effected a *counter-revolution*, and re-established absolute Government in Portugal.

If there were any thing still wanting to finish this picture, it would be the well known fact; the fact which hardly a living creature is unacquainted with, that the Catholics of Ireland, are treated like

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while the Courier newspaper, who has constantly maintained that the Catholics of Ireland *ought to be* thus treated, has the audacity, the monstrous turpitude, to represent the Catholics of Mexico as an *oppressed people*; and while it has the more monstrous folly to believe that the Catholics of Mexico will leap into the arms of those who sustain the Orangemen of Ireland!

Look, then, Sir, I humbly beseech you, at this picture; only a very few of the parts of which, I have remarked. We may, without the smallest hesitation, assert, that for the nation to be preserved, by the authors of such a mass of inconsistencies, is impossible. It is not necessary to stop to reason upon the matter: we may pronounce with the certainty of being right; that the men who called for the Foreign Enlistment Bill in 1818; that the men who began the negotiation of 1822, who begun their endeavours to keep the French out of Spain, by declaring that England was *resolved to have Peace for herself*; that the men who promulgate an education project for the Blacks in the West Indies, while the Courier is proceeding **BY BEAT OF DRUM**, in the revolutionizing of South

America; that the men who can do these things, must, if suffered to continue, to possess influence, reduce the power of their country, is as certain as that fire, if applied to the fagot, must reduce it to ashes.

The papers which I have inserted above are not worthy of attention any further than as showing that the parties are out of humour with one another. The Spanish writer naturally insists that the colonies are not independent in fact; and the Courier as naturally insists that they are independent: But the best answer to the Courier would be found in asking him, whether he believe that there is any Government in the Spanish Colonies so firmly established as the *Government of the Cortes, only eighteen months ago*? He will hardly have the effrontery to say that he believes this; and yet, the Government of the Cortes is as completely dissolved, as a bit of ice exposed to the burning sun for a month. It is no more. The very elements of which it was composed, are gone. It had its Chamber of Deputies; it had its Councils, its Ministers, its Departments; it had its Army and its *Loans*: and these are all as completely annihilated; the annihilation is as complete as annihilation can be.

In the foregoing article the Courier tells us that there is a hero in Mexico, who is a *second Washington*. There was a hero there some time back, whom they called a second Washington; but they dethroned him, and he is now living in Florence or Leghorn. We are told that there is but one fortress in Venezuela, and that there is only one in Mexico, now

held by the Spaniards; but there was no fortress at all in Old Spain that was held by any body but the Cortes.

In Portugal, all was said to be perfectly established. The **MOST FAITHFUL** King himself had not only sworn to the Constitution, but he had, I believe, assented to the banishment of his Queen, who, as your Majesty knows, is flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone, merely because she also would not swear to the Constitution: yet, even that famous government was overturned in a day. The French army did not march into Portugal. Not a single hostile soldier set his foot within the territories of that kingdom. Portuguese liberty fell as he falls, who is killed by the wind of a ball.

After this, it is a little too much to tell us that Mexico is an *independent nation*, merely because it is in a state of commotion. It has *no government*. There is no government in any one of the Colonies. The Courier tells us that there is a legislative assembly in Venezuela in which there was a *good deal of debating*. And there were assemblies in Spain and Portugal, in which there was a good deal of debating. If the existence of a great deal of debating were a proof of the existence of independence and of fixed and permanent government, where could there be independence more complete or government more permanently established than in Spain or Portugal?

The change was produced in the Peninsula, as it is called, by the presence of a regular Army. This army, however, had little or no *fighting* to perform. To show it-

self was sufficient. There were, at most, but a hundred thousand Frenchmen. There were several millions of Spaniards; and, more, as we were told, than two hundred thousand of them under arms. Yet, all fell at the approach of the French Army. Spain was overrun with as much facility as dogs overrun a sheep-walk. To the very hour of the fall of Cadiz, we were told of Patriot armies and Guirellas, and of a people resolved to die, rather than yield their liberty. When Cadiz fell, however, the prostituted Press of London discovered, all of a sudden, that the Spanish people were a very base people; that the Priests had persuaded them to prefer slavery to liberty; and that the *drones* of Priests had wonderful weight with this people, because the *drones* used to feed the *lazy* Nation, at the Convent doors. So that, it seems, even the sagacious persons of the London Press had been, with regard to the state of Spain, in profound ignorance, until the actual fall of Cadiz.

This having been the case, with regard to Spain herself, why may it not be the case with regard to her Colonies? Indeed I am convinced that it is the case with regard to those Colonies; that is to say, I am convinced that those Colonies are perfectly ready to follow the example of the Mother Country. The power of the Priests is as great in the one as in the other. We drove the French out of Spain, because, and only because, we had the Priests on our side. It is not rational to believe that the people of South America have ceased to be Catholics; and it is still less rational to believe that they will all at once become ena-

moured with the rulers of Ireland.

There are powerful parties in all the States of South America; and these parties are, in some cases, opposed to the Government of Old Spain. With *great aid from without*, these parties might establish independent Governments; but, *never without such aid*, unless we could annihilate the intriguing faculties of Europe. It is said, and in the *Moniteur*, too, that the Spanish vessels of war are preparing at Cadiz to *proceed to South America*. That these are manned with Frenchmen and are carrying French money (borrowed, very likely, in London), there can be little doubt. But to prevent the establishment of Governments in the Colonies, these armaments are by no means necessary. *The news from Old Spain* will have much more than half destroyed; the bare news, without any thing else; the bare news of the surrender of *Cadiz* to the French; the bare news of this event, will have half destroyed all the works of the revolutionists in the Colonies. If I, seeing England in a state of republican revolution, were to place myself at the head of a revolution in Nova Scotia, and were to declare that country in a state of independence. If I were in this situation, and were to receive news of the Hanoverians having come over to England, and of their having first been received with acclamations of joy in London, and then, taking possession of Portsmouth and Plymouth: if I were to receive such news in Nova Scotia, I should, I believe, think much less about the independence of Nova Scotia than about the saving of my own neck;

and, think Mr. CANNING, what he may, of the matter, he will find that the fall of Cadiz has gone far towards the state of the "*South American Republics*."

The *Courier* announces to us, that, "the great question of South American independence, will, ere long, *occupy the Councils of Europe*." From those Councils, your Majesty is (as the *Courier* has told us), to be *excluded*; that is to say, your Ministers will have nothing to do with those Councils. Hard, may it please your Majesty, to exclude the deliverers of Europe from the Councils of Europe! But, if these Councils should decide, that South America shall not be independent; then, what have we left but *war*?

In the meanwhile, the Spaniards (that is to say, the French), are sending an armament to the scene of action. England is proceeding by "*BEAT OF DRUM*," and (a thing by no means to be overlooked) the *sister republics* of the North are *sending a squadron*, for the "*suppression of piracy*," in the West India Seas. This is a mere pretext. Four well equipped vessels of war, have just sailed from the Potomac to the West Indies; and I am sure, that no man in his senses will ask *for what*.

The foregoing observations are intended merely as an introduction, to the Petition which I am about to annex; but I cannot conclude this Memorial, without observing on the perverseness; on the wilful blindness of even the most intelligent part of the London Press; on its wonderful obstinacy in disguising from itself, the part which the United States have acted and are acting in this

great drama. This Press has recently informed us of the detection and imprisonment of two French spies in Mexico. It was, it seems, discovered, that they were carrying on a "*treasonable correspondence*." A treasonable correspondence with the *French Minister*: not with the French Minister at Paris, however, but with the French Minister at Washington! At Washington! Carrying on a conspiracy against "*liberty*," even in liberty's own "*Capitol*!" Like SYRHAX and SAMPRONIUS, carrying on a conspiracy against CATO, in CATO's own hall!

Ah, Sir! if you had Ministers that thought less about the safety of the boroughs, and more about the safety of your kingdom, how soon would Englishmen laugh to scorn all the petty hatchings of these conspirators!

In spite of this discovery; in spite of the Act of Congress contained in the subjoined Petition; in spite of the matchless duplicity of acknowledging the independence of Buenos Ayres in newspaper paragraphs, and in no official document; in spite of the sailing of the squadron from the Potomac; in spite of facts sufficient to enlighten the understandings of idiots, the London press still affects, when it is speaking of the affairs of South America, to leave the interest, the disposition and the power of the United States, wholly out of the question! The main object of this Memorial is, to press upon the Public, under the form of an Address to your Majesty, the necessity of being prepared for the hostility of the United States. Every day brings forth something to strengthen and

confirm the opinions contained in the following Petition. In it will be found the true clue to the conduct of the United States. But, circumstances have wholly changed, as far as relates to the relative power of those States, as connected with this question. When the Petition was written, they had no ally to support them against England. They have now the whole of the House of Bourbon and Russia. If the Spanish Colonies of America, again take their place under the House of Bourbon, England must abandon all those maritime rights, which have been the chief source of her power, and always the rock of her safety; and return under the dominion of the House of Bourbon those Colonies must, unless we send forth fleets and armies to effect and to secure their independence. That your Majesty will, at last, call upon the Parliament for those fleets and armies, I have little doubt; and, when you shall be compelled to do that, may I be permitted to hope, that you will condescend to read the following Petition of

Your Majesty's
Faithful Subject and
Most humble Servant,
WM. COBBETT.

To His Royal Highness the PRINCE,
Regent of the United Kingdom of
Great Britain and Ireland.

The Petition of WILLIAM COBBETT
of Botley in the County of South-
ampton, now residing at North
Hampstead, in the State of New
York, this 17th day of October
1817,

Most humbly Sheweth,

1. THAT, next after the present
situation of England herself, the

object the most interesting to every well-informed and patriotic Englishman must, as your Petitioner humbly presumes to believe, be the present situation of the Spanish Colonies in America, in whose immense and fertile regions there are preparing, and, indeed, there are now in progress, such changes as will, in all human probability, produce a new distribution of wealth and of power amongst the most considerable of the nations of the world; and, as will, at the very least, materially affect many of those nations, not only in a Commercial, but also in a Naval and Military point of view. Of all those nations no one is, as it appears to your humble Petitioner, nearly so deeply interested as England in this grand Revolution, which, if your Royal Highness's Councillors be wise, prompt, and faithful to their King and his People, may greatly tend to restore her to prosperity, may secure to her an undisputed maritime predominance for ages not to be numbered, and may, at the same time, and from the use of the very same means, crown her with the unfading glory of having given freedom to twenty millions of people, who now groan out their lives under the double-tongued scourge of Civil and Religious tyranny.

2. Such being the opinion of your Petitioner, it is impossible for him to refrain from soliciting most humbly, though most earnestly, the attention of your Royal Highness to this important matter. And, he begs leave here to be permitted to represent to your Royal Highness, that, while taking this step, he forgets not the injuries at this time unjustly inflicted on his fellow subjects in general, and on himself in particular; but, that, bearing these in mind, as he trusts he shall, to the last moment of his life, he also bears in mind those sacred obligations of law and of nature, which bind him to the land of his birth,

and which bid him upon this occasion, as upon all other occasions, to make every exertion, within the compass of his humble means, to promote the welfare and advance the honour of England.

3. To the mind of your Royal Highness the bare fact of a Revolution being in existence and agitating the breasts of the whole of the population of a country, which reaches from the 18th degree of North Latitude to the 50th degree of South Latitude; a country which thus extends four thousand miles in length, which, in breadth, at some points, extends three thousand miles, and which is unbroken except by the comparatively trifling possessions of the Portuguese and the Dutch; a country which borders, at one extremity, on the part of the United States, at once the most fertile and the most important as to all probable future military and naval operations; a country which has numerous ports on the side of the Pacific, as well as on that of the Atlantic ocean; a country, which, to all the articles of European produce adds many articles that are refused by nature even to the most favoured part of the United States; a country, which, while it is cheered by a continual summer on the surface of the earth, has mines beneath inexhaustible in silver and in gold; a country which abounds in, or is capable of producing, almost all the commodities, greatly useful, as imports, to England, and which, at the same time, offers to England the surest, the most extensive, and the best of all possible markets; a country, which, if independent, nature would forbid to become, in any respect, the rival of England, and which from necessity must seek her friendship, and rely, in a great measure, on her power: to the mind of your Royal Highness the bare fact of a Revolution being in actual existence in such a country; to the mind of every one who feels for the inte-

rest and honour of England, this bare fact, as your Petitioner humbly presumes to believe, must suggest the strongest desire to know the true state of that Revolution and to see clearly developed the probable consequences of its ultimate success.

4. Deep is the sorrow of your Petitioner when he reflects on his incapacity to perform this task in a manner worthy of the magnitude and importance of the subject; but, urged thereunto by a sense of imperious duty towards your Royal Highness and his Country, no conviction, however perfect, of his inability can be sufficient to restrain him from making the attempt.

5. Minutely to describe the state of the Revolution in Spanish America; to lay before your Royal Highness in detail the number of men in arms in the several Provinces and Viceroyalties; to state the precise situation of the hostile armies and armaments; to say what are the exact means, which, in the several warlike scenes, the parties possess, or may speedily expect: these would demand a mass of information not only greater than is possessed by your Petitioner, but greater than can, at this time, possibly be possessed by any one man. But, the information which your Petitioner has acquired, not from mere rumour or from published accounts, but from a personal communication with men of high character, coming directly from the spot, enables him confidently to state to your Royal Highness, that, in the Viceroyalty of Mexico, which is the most Northern part of the Spanish Dominions on the Main, and which borders on the United States, the people are wholly disaffected to the government; that they have a Junta, or Assembly of Representatives, in the Province of Valladolid; that they have leaders of great enterprise and talent, and that arms only are wanted to decide, at once, the struggle in their

favour; that the Viceroy, indeed, raises troops, but that even these are disaffected towards him; that, on the Atlantic side, the only considerable seaport of this Viceroyalty, La Vera Cruz, is, as yet, in the hands of the Spanish government, but that, to drive the present possessors from that port, and to afford every necessary assistance to the oppressed people, one single English frigate, with twenty thousand stand of arms, sent to the Gulf of Mexico, would be sufficient; that this Viceroyalty, which proposes to form itself into a distinct independent state, has a population of from seven to eight millions, nearly equalling the population of the United States of America, on which it borders on one side, and with regard to the resources and power of which United States, the establishment of the independence of Mexico, must, as your Petitioner will hereafter humbly endeavour to show, have a most important effect.

6. That, with regard to the Second Grand Division of these immense regions, which division includes New Grenada and Venezuela, and which extends from the isthmus of Darien to the mouth of the Orinoco (along more than seven hundred miles of sea coast the most important in every point of view), containing a population of from three to four millions, a declaration of independence, and a new form of government have, long since, been proclaimed; that a war, extensive and sanguinary, has, for years, been going on; that the Patriots have commanders regularly appointed and commissioned; that they have a Representative Assembly, officers of state, a national flag, and, in short, that they exercise the powers of sovereignty over a large portion of this extensive, fertile, rich and important territory. Here, as in the case of Mexico, arms only and a trifling maritime force are wanted to put

an end to the contest, and, as your Petitioner humbly hopes that he shall be able to show, to open to England the fairest prospect of immense advantages.

7. That, in Peru, which forms the Third Division, and which is bounded to the North by the last-mentioned Territory, to the East by the Portuguese Possessions, to the South by the Territory of Chili, and to the West by the Pacific Ocean, and which has a population of from two to three millions, the spirit of independence is as active as in the afore-mentioned territories, and that here also a mere trifle in the way of maritime force and of arms would decide the contest, even, perhaps, without further struggle.

8. That, in the Southern Division, including the Territories of Buenos Ayres and of Chili, and containing a population of from three to four millions, the contest is nearly at an end. The Patriots have established a new Government, and, with the exception of a trifling portion of territory on the borders of the Pacific Ocean, on which Spain is endeavouring to keep up the struggle, the whole of this Division is under the actual control of the Patriot Government.

9. But, though your Petitioner places, in relation to the state of the Revolution, great reliance on the particular information which he has, from most respectable and authentic sources, received, he places much greater reliance upon the natural and inevitable tendency of the existence, throughout the afore-mentioned countries, of a general spirit of revolt against oppression and insult exercised by imbecility, and which spirit of revolt, together with which oppression, insult and imbecility are notorious to all the world. The history of nations, as your Petitioner humbly ventures to believe, furnishes no instance of the re-subjugation of a people, once in arms for

their rights and perfectly enlightened as to the nature of those rights, unless such people were overwhelmed by an irresistible combination of foreign Powers; a circumstance that cannot happen to the Spanish Independents, unless through the consent, or the connivance, of England, acting, as in such case she must, not only in violation of the dictates of justice and humanity, but, as your Petitioner humbly hopes, he shall be able to show, in direct opposition to her own most important and most permanent interests.

10. In order to obtain an insight as to the probable consequences of the ultimate success of the Revolution of Spanish America, especially as those consequences will affect, permanently as well as for the present, the prosperity and power of England, and that he might be able the better to discharge his duty to your Royal Highness and his country, your Petitioner has carefully attended to the nature of the products throughout the territories which are the subject of his petition. And, as to this matter, he begs leave humbly to beseech your Royal Highness to bear in mind that Mexico produces all those articles of commerce, which are produced in the United States, such as cotton, tobacco, ship-timber, and many others, and, besides these, cochineal, indigo, dye-woods, and mahogany, while it abounds in those mines of silver and of gold, of which the United States have none. The city of Mexico, situated nearly about the centre of this Viceroyalty, and which city contains a hundred and eighty thousand inhabitants, is blessed with a climate that knows no winter; a never-fading verdure clothes the fields; two crops of any kind of European grain are, with facility, made, in the same year, to succeed each other on the same plot of ground, and even two crops of maize, or Indian corn, while one crop of this

latter grain is the utmost that can, even with difficulty, be raised in the Northern part of the United States. In the Division of New Grenada and Venezuela, which approaches more towards the South, all the products of Mexico abound. Here, as to the Mines, silver and gold receive the addition of platina metal. Tobacco is here produced, long acknowledged to be the finest in the world. The vine and the olive have been forbidden by Despotism to produce wine and oil in this their favourite climate, lest these countries should, in this respect, injure Old Spain. At Chili, where the people have been permitted to make wine for their own use only, a proof has been afforded of the eminence to which almost every part of these territories would, if free and independent, speedily arrive, to the great injury, no doubt, of France and Spain and some other of the nations of Europe, but to the incalculable benefit of England. In the Division of Buenos Ayres and Chili; in that of Peru; in every part of these territories, are produced all that the United States produce, with a small portion of the labour required in the latter. Hides and Tallow, from droves roaming at pleasure, unfed and unsheltered, are even now an object of considerable traffic, and, under independent governments, would naturally become such to an immense extent. Lumber, and all the articles in wood, together with flour, rice, and all the articles of food, occasionally necessary to England or to her West India Colonies, and which articles are now chiefly supplied by the United States, would, at a much cheaper rate, all be supplied from Mexico and the other countries bordering on the West India Sea, while the resources arising therefrom to these new nations could not possibly, at any period of time, be employed, like the resources of the United States, in the formation of a marine

threatening to rival, sooner or later, the Navy of England.

11. But amongst the articles, in which Mexico, and more especially New Grenada and Venezuela would supplant the United States, there is one, which your Petitioner humbly presumes to point out as worthy of the particular notice of your Royal Highness. The articles of rice, flour, and tobacco are, each of them, of great importance, but that of cotton far surpasses any description within the humble powers of your Petitioner to give. The annual amount of this article of raw material, imported into England from the United States, great as that amount is, bears no proportion in point of consequence to the circumstances of its being the material of one of the greatest English manufactures, giving employment to a multitude of hands, causing an immense capital to be productively employed, and the interruption of a sufficient supply of which raw material must of necessity be attended with injuries too obvious to be detailed and too great not to be, if possible, provided against. In the territories which are the subject of this Petition, and especially in those which border on the Gulf of Mexico, and on the West Indian Sea, cotton is not only naturally of a quality greatly superior to that of the United States, but it is produced at a small portion of the expense demanded by the cultivation of that of the last-mentioned country. So that, if the territories of Spanish America were freed from the monopoly, the restrictions, and all the selfish and oppressive shackles imposed by Spain; if industry and enterprise were left to take their natural course, those countries would furnish the English manufactures with the most essential article of raw material at a price greatly reduced, and the close friendship which must necessarily exist be-

twopen England and those territories would prevent the supply from being interrupted by any of the clashing of interest or any of the casualties of war.

12. If your Royal Highness's Ministers, too busily engaged in the promoting of Holy Alliances abroad and in sacrificing the freedom of the people to the interest of an usurping Borough faction at home, have overlooked these obvious commercial consequences of the success of the Revolution in Spanish America, and have also overlooked those still more important consequences of a military and naval character, of which your Petitioner will by-and-by beg to be permitted to speak, the Rulers of the United States, have, as he will now humbly proceed to show, overlooked neither the one nor the other, but seem to have had all those consequences clearly in their view, and to have done all that lay in their power to prevent them accordingly.

13. Your Petitioner will not so far presume the existence of perfidy in your Royal Highness's Envoys, or Ministers, as to suppose your Royal Highness not to have been informed, that the Envoys from the Patriot Governments have been refused to be received, in that capacity, by the Government of the United States; but he does presume, that perfidy, or at least, criminal negligence, must have existed somewhere, because, otherwise, an Act, which was passed by the Congress on the third day of March last, would, with all possible speed, have been laid before your Royal Highness, and in which case your Petitioner is sure that the said Act would have been, by your Royal Highness's order, communicated to the two Houses of Parliament. This being the firm conviction of your Petitioner, he deems it his duty to recite here the words of this Act, and to subjoin to the recital such

matter as appears to him necessary to exhibit a clear view of all the bearings and intentions of this singular and most important document.

" An Act more effectually to preserve the neutral relations of the United States.

" Section 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That if any person shall, within the limits of the United States, fit out and arm, or attempt to fit out and arm, or procure to be fitted out and armed, or shall knowingly be concerned in the furnishing, fitting out or arming of any ship or vessel, with intent that such ship shall be employed in the service of any foreign prince or state, or of any colony, district, or people, to cruise or commit hostilities, or to aid or co-operate in any warlike measure whatever against the subjects, citizens, or property of any prince or state, or of any colony, district, or people, with whom the United States are at peace, every such person so offending shall, upon conviction, be adjudged guilty of a high misdemeanor, and shall be punished and imprisoned at the discretion of the court in which the conviction shall be had, so as the fine to be imposed shall in no case be more than ten thousand dollars, and the term of imprisonment shall not exceed ten years; and every such ship or vessel, with her tackle, apparel and furniture, together with all materials, arms, ammunition and stores, which may have been procured for the building and equipment thereof, shall be forfeited, one half to the use of any person who shall give information, and the other half to the use of the United States.

" Section 2. And be it further enacted, That the owners of all

"armed ships, sailing out of the
 "ports of the United States, and
 "owned wholly or in part by citi-
 "zens thereof, shall enter into bond to
 "the United States, with sufficient
 "sureties, prior to clearing out the
 "same, in double the amount of
 "the value of the vessel and cargo
 "on board, including her arma-
 "ment, that the said ship or vessel
 "shall not be employed by such
 "owners, in cruising or committing
 "hostilities, or in aiding or co-
 "operating in any warlike measure
 "against the subjects, citizens, or
 "property of any prince or state,
 "or of any colony, district, or
 "people, with whom the United
 "States are at peace.

"Section 3. And be it further
 "enacted, That the collectors of
 "the customs be, and they are
 "hereby respectively authorized
 "and required to detain any vessel
 "manifestly built for warlike pur-
 "poses, and about to depart from
 "the United States, of which the
 "cargo shall principally consist of
 "arms and munitions of war, when
 "the number of men shipped on
 "board, or other circumstances, shall
 "render it probable that such ves-
 "sel is intended to be employed
 "by the owner or owners to cruise
 "or commit hostilities upon the
 "subjects, citizens, or property of
 "any prince or state, or of any
 "colony, district, or people, with
 "whom the United States are at
 "peace, until the decision of the
 "President be had thereupon, or
 "until the owner enters into bond,
 "and sureties to the United States
 "prior to clearing out the same,
 "in double the amount of the
 "value of the vessel and cargo on
 "board, including her armament,
 "that the said ship or vessel shall
 "not be employed by the owner or
 "owners, in cruising or committing
 "hostilities, or in aiding or co-
 "operating in any warlike measure
 "against the subjects, citizens or
 "property of any prince or state,

"or of any colony, district, or
 "people, with whom the United
 "States are at peace.

"Section 4. And be it further
 "enacted, That if any person shall,
 "within the territory or jurisdic-
 "tion of the United States, increase
 "or augment, or procure to be in-
 "creased or augmented, or shall
 "be knowingly concerned in increas-
 "ing or augmenting the force of
 "any ship of war, cruiser, or other
 "armed vessel, which at the time
 "of her arrival within the United
 "States, was a ship of war, cruiser,
 "or other armed vessel, in the ser-
 "vice of a foreign prince, or state,
 "or of any colony, district, or people,
 "or belonging to the subjects, or
 "citizens of any such prince,
 "state, colony, district, or people,
 "the same being at war with any
 "foreign prince or state, with whom
 "the United States are at peace,
 "by adding to the number or size
 "of the guns of such vessels pre-
 "pared for use, or by the addition
 "thereto of any equipment, solely
 "applicable to war, every such
 "person so offending shall, upon
 "conviction, be adjudged guilty
 "of a misdemeanor, and shall be
 "fined and imprisoned, at the dis-
 "cretion of the court in which the
 "conviction shall be had, so as
 "that such fines shall not exceed
 "one thousand dollars, nor the
 "term of imprisonment be more
 "than one year.

"Section 5. And be it further
 "enacted, That this Act shall con-
 "tinue in force for the term of two
 "years.

"H. CLAY,

"Speaker of the House of
 "Representatives.

"JOHN GAILLARD,
 "President of the Senate,
 "pro tempore.

"Approved,

"JAMES MADISON."

"May 3, 1817."

14. With regard to the *Title* of this Act, your Petitioner begs leave humbly to represent to your Royal Highness, that it is a perfect novelty, in the history of nations, for any Government to pass laws to punish its citizens or subjects for violating the public laws of neutrality; that the law of nations provides the punishment which, upon this score, nations have deemed to be amply sufficient; that, in virtue of this law, every citizen, or subject, of a neutral State is, if he trade to a belligerent State in articles contraband of war and such as are enumerated in this Act, liable to have those articles seized and condemned by the belligerent with whose enemy he so trades; that this general law of nations has rendered any interference in such cases, on the part of neutral governments, wholly unnecessary; that if individual citizens or subjects, belonging to a neutral State, supply one of the belligerent Powers with arms, or other munitions of war, the other belligerent has no ground of complaint against the neutral State, seeing that such offended belligerent has, by the law of nations, the right, lodged in its own hands, of punishing such individuals. That, the matter has been, thus, wisely settled by the law of nations; for, if neutral States were to acknowledge, as a duty, the passing of laws to punish their citizens or subjects for violations of the laws of neutrality, neutral States would, by such acknowledgment, give to any and to every belligerent a right to demand of them the passing of such laws, and, thus, would one nation have a right to dictate to another nation not only punishments, but the measure of punishments, to be inflicted on that other nation's citizens or subjects; and this, as your Royal Highness need not be reminded, is a species of degradation, to which no really independent nation has ever submitted.

15. It appears, therefore, evident to your Petitioner, and he ventures humbly to express his conviction, that it will appear evident to your Royal Highness and to the whole English People (for whose benefit, as your Royal Highness has publicly and truly declared, your Royal Father wears his crown), that the above-recited Act of the American Congress was not called for by any neutral duty known to the law of nations, and that it could not, in any wise, possibly be necessary to the preservation of the neutral relations of the United States. Besides, it will at once occur to your Royal Highness and to the People of the whole Kingdom to ask, how it happens, that, in order to preserve its neutral relations, an anxiety on the part of the American Government, so extreme as to produce this signal work of supererogation, has now, for the first time, made its appearance to the world? The Government of the United States has had to preserve its neutrality during many years of war amongst the European States, and, which is exactly in point, during a long and sanguinary struggle between France and her important colony of St. Domingo; and yet, as your Petitioner begs leave to state, the Congress has never before passed an Act to punish its citizens for trading in articles contraband of war; and, of course, it has now, for the first time, discovered, that such Acts are necessary to the preservation of its neutral relations, which discovery appears, too, to be the more extraordinary, as its effects manifestly tend to prevent a people, groaning under the worst of Despotisms, from obtaining any share of that freedom and that happiness, to have obtained which by an open war against the Mother Country is the boast of the People of these United States.

16. Moreover, with regard to the *principle* of this law of the

American Congress, your Petitioner begs leave humbly to observe to your Royal Highness, that, it not only imposes a new, and hitherto unheard-of, duty, and a most weighty responsibility, on the Governments which shall adopt it as a precedent; but that cases may frequently arise, in which to act upon this principle, would be, in substance, though not in form, to take a part in the war, and, of course, to commit hostility on one or the other of the belligerents; for, if one of the belligerent nations have, within herself, or, at her command, an ample supply of arms and of all the munitions of war, and if the other must necessarily depend upon neutrals for such supply, your Petitioner humbly conceives that there can be no doubt in the mind of your Royal Highness, that a neutral nation, who should pass an Act, commanding her people to carry arms, or munitions of war, to neither of the belligerents; would, under the outward show of impartiality, be in fact, guilty of obvious partiality in favour of the well-armed and well-provided belligerent; would, in reality, join that belligerent in hostility against the un-armed and un-provided belligerent, and would thus afford full justification to the latter to consider, and act towards, such neutral nation as an enemy. So that the principle, upon which this law of the American Congress professes to proceed; instead of tending to preserve the neutral relations of States, must, as appears to your Petitioner, naturally tend to make such States, sooner or later, parties in every contest between other nations, and, instead of repressing and confining, must tend to render boundless the extent, the duration and the miseries of war.

IV. Feeling, as your Petitioner does, profound respect for the American Congress, as the real representatives of a people truly

free, as legislators whose seats are not obtained by the base means of bribery and corruption, as men whose votes are not the price of wealth wrung from the hard hands of a toiling and starving nation; and feeling, too, great gratitude towards the whole American people for that protection which the effects of their wisdom, virtue and valour now afford him against the power of the Borough-faction, who so daringly oppress and insult his native country: with these feelings in his breast, it is with unaffected grief, that your Petitioner, in proceeding most humbly to solicit the attention of your Royal Highness to the provisions of this Act of the Congress, finds himself compelled to express his confident belief, that your Royal Highness will, in the three first Sections of the Act, clearly perceive all that impartiality in words and all that partiality in tendency and in object, so manifest in the above-supposed case; and of which supposed case of pretended neutrality and of real hostility, this Act of Congress is, it appears to your Petitioner, nothing short of a full, practical illustration. But while, in the three first Sections, the Act assumes, and closely wears, the garb of impartiality, in the fourth Section, which is the most material, this garb becomes loosened, and renders visible the real character of the Act. For, while this Section forbids the augmentation of the force of any vessel *belonging to any foreign prince, state, colony, district, or people*, if such prince, state, colony, district, or people be *at war* with any foreign prince or state, with whom the United States are *at peace*; while this Section forbids this; it does not forbid the augmentation of the force of any vessel *belonging to any prince, state, colony, district, or people*, if neither of these be *at war* with a prince or state; so that, as Old Spain is not *at war* with a prince or state, but with colo-

nies, districts, or people, the vessels belonging to Old Spain may enter, receive augmentation of force, and sail out again to make war upon the colonies, which colonies are neither *princes* nor *states*; but the colonies of Spanish America, being at war with a *prince* or *state*, can enjoy none of those advantages which are here exclusively given to their inexorable oppressor.

18. That a Government, founded on the principles of the natural and unalienable rights of man, and arising out of a revolt of colonists against the mother country, because that mother country, by her conduct, gave them good reason to apprehend oppression at some future day; that a Government, chosen by a people, who annually listen to orations from the pulpit, in praise of Revolution, who, by all kinds of demonstrations of joy, celebrate their successful revolt, and who hold in the highest reverence the persons and memory of all the men, who distinguished themselves in the securing of that success; that a Government which boasts, and justly boasts, of exhibiting to the world a practical proof, that the greatest degree of political, civil and religious liberty is perfectly consistent with the greatest degree of public order, tranquillity, and obedience to the laws, and also with the greatest degree of national security in time of war; that a Government, which holds, in the broadest sense, the right of men to cast off, or transfer, their allegiance; which tenders the right of citizenship, and promises protection as citizens, to all men of all nations upon the sole condition of a five years' residence and an oath abjuring all allegiance to their native sovereigns and country; that a Government thus implanted, thus growing up, thus extending its sheltering branches and dropping its nourishing fruits; that such a Government, should have voluntarily

passed an Act, punishing with severity, surpassing, in fact, the penalty of immediate death, such of its own citizens as may aid or abet the colonists of Spain, compared to whose real and actual oppression all that the people of the United States could possibly have apprehended from England was as the finger of the dwarf weighed against the loins of the giant; that such a Government should have passed such an Act, must, if men suppress their indignation, necessarily excite throughout the world the utmost degree of sorrow and surprise.

19. But, if your Royal Highness shall be graciously pleased to advert to what your Petitioner has humbly stated in the foregoing part of this his Petition, relative to the superiority in point of products, and relative to all the numerous commercial advantages, which would enable the Spanish colonies, if become free and independent governments, speedily to rival, to surpass and supplant the United States, and more especially if your Royal Highness shall, in your great condescension, be pleased to suffer your Petitioner humbly to draw your attention to the prodigious effect which the liberation of the Spanish colonies must necessarily have on the United States in a naval and military point of view, your Petitioner is fully persuaded, that all ground for surprise at the passing of the above recited Act of Congress will wholly disappear; and that, though it may be difficult, upon moral principles, to find a justification for that extraordinary measure, the Congress will clearly appear to have displayed, upon this occasion, a degree of political foresight and wisdom equal to that of its legislative energy, it being impossible not to perceive, that the real object of this measure is, to prevent the independence of Spanish America from giving a great

check to the increase of the population; pecuniary resources, commerce, naval power and territorial dominion of the United States.

20. While this enlightened body of legislators so clearly saw, that the independence of Spanish America generally would naturally and necessarily divert the current of European emigration from the United States to the more genial climates of the South, whither the taste for novelty, the love of ease, and the desire of gain, are all pressingly invited, and where they are all promised indulgence in the most ample degree; while the Congress clearly saw, that the independence of those countries could not fail to take from the United States the chief part of their export of tobacco, rice, flour and cotton, those staples of their commerce, the Congress also saw, that a proportionate diminution would, from the same cause, arise in the amount of imported articles, which are the objects of exchange for the products exported, and the Custom Duties on which imported articles form the main part of the pecuniary means of the United States wherewith to maintain and increase their Navy and to defray the interest of their Public Debt; while the Congress must have seen clearly, and with great anxiety, these inevitable consequences of the independence of Spanish America generally, that body could not have seen but with real alarm the prospect of the establishment of a free and independent Government in Mexico, a country bordering on the United States for many hundreds of miles, surpassing the United States in white population, having a capital city with nearly two hundred thousand inhabitants, abounding in mines of the precious metals, abounding in ship-timber and in seaports in both oceans, having, from the very nature of things, the absolute command of the mouth of the Mississippi, the

great and only outlet to all the most fertile and flourishing of the United States, and, above all, a country, which every interest and every feeling must necessarily bind in fast and permanent alliance with England.

21. But, while your Royal Highness and His Majesty's faithful People will clearly perceive, that it was, and is, perfectly natural for the Congress to feel anxiety and alarm at the appearance of these impending consequences of the independence of Spanish America; that sentiments of patriotism and considerations of duty might make them dread, and endeavour to prevent, a Revolution, which, if successful, would check the growth of the resources and power of their own country; which would raise up and establish rivals in liberty as well as in power, on the same Continent; which, while it put a stop to the increase of their own marine, would create other American marines, sufficient to cope with theirs in point of force, and naturally in constant rivalry with it; which would make England the absolute arbitress amongst all the transatlantic nations, and which, while it necessarily tended to enrich the manufacturers, merchants and ship-owners of England, as necessarily tended to give to the English Flag an undisputed predominance on the seas for ages beyond the reach of human foresight or calculation: while your Royal Highness and His Majesty's faithful People will perceive, that, with these prospects and considerations in their minds, it was perfectly natural and patriotic in the Congress to endeavour to prevent the success of the Revolution in the Spanish colonies, your Petitioner does not hesitate to express his firm belief, that your Royal Highness and the People will also perceive, that the inactivity, the torpor, the cold-hearted indifference, shown on this occa-

sion, by the Ministers of your Royal Highness, are altogether as unnatural and as unpatriotic, and discover a want of even the most ordinary feeling equally for the interests of the country and for the honour of His Majesty's Crown.

22. It being always less painful to impute mischief to folly than to wickedness, gladly would your humble Petitioner ascribe this inactivity, this torpor, this cold-hearted indifference, so manifestly injurious to his country and his king, and apparently so unaccountable, wholly to that want of talent, that incapacity for the managing of great affairs, that grovelling propensity of mind, for which the Ministers are so strongly characterized and are so notorious; but, the same sense of duty towards your Royal Highness and towards his beloved country, which has urged your Petitioner to submit, with feelings of great diffidence and humility, to your Royal Highness the foregoing representation, also urges him to declare it to be his conviction, though, as an Englishman, the declaration covers him with shame, that this inactivity, this torpor, this cold-hearted indifference, this shameful neglect of the interest, the happiness, and the glory of England, are chiefly, if not solely, to be ascribed to a reluctance to suffer the taking of any part in behalf of the Spanish colonies, lest the principles of Holy Alliances and of pretended Legitimacy should thereby receive their condemnation and their overthrow, and lest, upon the ruins of those detestable principles and upon those of the Borough-faction, the rights and liberties of the People of England, and the just powers and prerogatives of their lawful Sovereign, should be built on sure and lasting foundations; for, while your Petitioner is too well aware of the magnanimity which prevails in the breast

of your Royal Highness, and not less in that of the nation, to suppose either capable of being, upon this occasion, actuated by feelings of revenge for the conduct of the Family of Bourbon, during the North American Revolution, and, while he has too great a dread of the just displeasure of your Royal Highness to suffer him, for one moment, to entertain the thought of, daring to suggest to your Royal Highness to act upon the example of that family; he cannot refrain from humbly expressing his hope, that your Royal Highness, who well recollects that memorable instance of envy, insolence and perfidy, will see, therein, no reason that England, by standing with her arms folded, should now make a manifest sacrifice of her present and permanent interests and of her immortal glory, lest, in the frank and honourable pursuit of these, she should sterilize the Vineyards of France; and dry up the sources of the Treasury of Spain.

23. Therefore, your Petitioner, well assured that your Royal Highness can have no feeling, not in perfect harmony with the interest and honour of the nation, and also well assured of your Royal Highness's disposition to listen with indulgence to the representations and prayers of even the most obscure of His Majesty's faithful People, ventures, upon the grounds of that assurance, to pray, that your Royal Highness will be graciously pleased to espouse, in the manner which to your Royal wisdom shall seem meet, the cause of the Colonies and Countries which have been the subject of this his most humble Petition.

And your Petitioner,

As in humble duty bound,

Will ever pray.

WM. COBBETT

IS IT WAR?

OR,

IS IT SHAM?

THE following is from the COURIER of *Tuesday Evening*. It had not been seen by me, when the first part of this Register was written.—It is curious. The two passages, which I put in *Italics*, ought to be read with the greatest attention.—What, then, “**IS THE GOLD GOING OUT OF THE COUNTRY?**” Do the *Ministers* ask this question?—And, are *our taxes lent by our Jews to our foes*?—Ah! What, are *all*, is *every one*, of my “*wild doctrines*” to be acknowledged to be sound!—I have no room for any thing more at present; and, therefore, leave the article to the attentive perusal of the reader.

* It is not for the purpose of creating unnecessary uneasiness in the public mind, that we desire all reflecting men to take a more attentive view of the situation of Europe at the present moment, than any of our contemporaries have taken, of late. Looked at superficially, considered hastily, all things wear a pacific appearance, and persons might almost be tempted to predict, that the repose of the world was little likely to be speedily interrupted. But would any one hazard such a prediction, who took more than a superficial view? Are there no seeds sown? Is the horizon so bright and clear? Are there no clouds rising? If we look at home, we find, in-

dead, abundance of capital—trade increasing, manufactures improving, stocks rising, the interest of money lower, and, above all, a mania for foreign loans. It seems as if we invited every nation to borrow money—nay, we are not contented with the European Governments, but are anxiously ransacking the New World; the most remote tribes, to permit us to become lenders. But it is among the European Powers that we remark a most suspicious eagerness to ease us of our superabundant capital—Is that capital applied to pay off debt—to improve commerce—to heal the wounds of war—to enable the Governments to assume with more effect, the garb and attitude of peace? Or is it the fact that the sums borrowed, are kept as sacred and separate funds, in specie, and scarcely touched? Is it true that the gold and silver coin of the country has been for some time exported in large quantities, to the different great Powers upon the Continent? Why are these Powers so rapidly enriching themselves with our money? May it not be strongly suspected that they are collecting, in peace, those sinews of war, on purpose to put themselves in a state of readiness? That they are making preparation? It is probable, nay, from what has lately been communicated to us, it is certain, that many of our politicians do not take this view of affairs—that they treat all such anticipations as gloomy and utterly unworthy of all serious notice. ‘We have received the most friendly assurances from all foreign Powers—remark how unwilling every Continental Government is to create suspicion, or to indulge a war-like system.—Does any difference arise? How easily it is removed—Russia and the Porte!—How anxiously did the Emperor Alexander consent to the most moderate conditions, rather than disturb the peace of the world. Equally shocked was the Emperor of Austria at the doubts entertained of his pacific intentions; towards Italy.’ This is the language of half-fledged politicians, and half-formed diplomatists. But are the elements which constituted the politics of every separate Power no longer in existence?—Are those principles which, each has followed with such obstinacy dead and gone?—Have ambition and aggrandisement no longer any charms?—Will any man be so gulled as to suppose that the policy of Catharine has been abandoned by Russia, and that she has relinquished for ever all designs against the

Ports?—But the time is not yet come. Is this Holy Alliance framed and linked together for peace alone, but not for war? Is there nothing in the present policy towards Spain, which should excite suspicion in our minds?—Is it not evident that Ferdinand is tied and bound down to the policy of the Holy Alliance?—We do not say that he would, of his own free will, recognise the Independence of the South American Colonies; but is he not pledged to his Continental Allies to refuse all recognition? Has it not been more recently asserted in the correspondence and speeches of the Russian Minister, Pozzo di Borgo, during his residence at Madrid? Are there no germs of misunderstanding—no seeds of dissension in this? Is it likely that the Power, or Powers, that have, *de facto*, or shall recognise the independence of the Colonies, and the Powers that refused such recognition, will live in the same uninterrupted harmony and intercourse together—that the latter will see the former exclusively extending their sphere of commerce and enriching themselves without the least ill will or ill humour? Is there any man who can believe that Russia, and Austria, and France, and Spain, pledged against any acknowledgment of South American independence, will view, with pacific eyes, another Power in possession of all the advantages that must be derived from her recognition and consequent friendly intercourse with those immense and fertile regions?—But is it to be inferred from this, that we are inviting this country to exhibit a hostile spirit against the European Powers, or to adopt any hostile measures?—certainly not. But do not let us be the willing

agents of their policy; do not let us aid them in their means and measures of preparation. It is quite consistent with a state of peace, to prevent them from raising loans in this country. In what way this can best be done, we know not; but we are quite sure it ought to be done, both as it regards the interests of the State and of individuals, and that the sooner the Legislature adopts some decisive measure upon the subject the better. We hope they will not have to regret that they did not adopt it six years ago."

AMERICAN TREES.

MANY Letters, which have been received, and which have not been answered, will be attended to immediately. — The *White-Oak acorns*, and other *acorns*, and *nuts* of fresh trees, which I expected, have arrived at *Liverpool*; and I shall have them for sale in about twenty days' time. The price will depend on the state of the things. I shall sell none that are not good; and, if a large portion be bad (which is often the case) the good must be the dearer.

MARKETS.

Average Prices of CORN throughout ENGLAND, for the week ending 13th December.

	Per Quarter.	s.	d.
Wheat	50	8	
Rye	31	3	
Barley	27	6	
Oats	20	7	
Beans	35	6	
Peas	33	2	

Corn Exchange, Mark Lane.

Quantities and Prices of British Corn, &c. sold and delivered in this Market, during the week ended Saturday, 13th December.

	Qrs.	£.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Wheat 10,942 for 30,183	9	2	Average, 55	2		
Barley.. 8,631.....12,698	16	4	.....28	9		
Oats... 9,632.....11,619	16	5	.....24	1		
Rye.... — .....	—	—	.....	—	
Beans .. 2,102.... 3,923	7	7	.....37	3		
Peas.... 2,675.... 4,768	8	4	.....35	7		

Quarters of English Grain, &c. arrived Coastwise, from Dec. 15 to Dec. 20, inclusive.

Wheat.. 5,979	Pease.... 2,093
Barley... 5,339	Tares..... —
Malt 4,152	Linseed.... 35
Oats.... 9,123	Rape..... 35
Rye..... 34	Brank..... 47
Beans.... 1,387	Mustard.... —

Various Seeds, 209 qrs.—Flour, 8,023 sacks.

From Ireland.—Oats, 8,410 qrs.

Foreign.—Linseed, 820 qrs.

Friday, Dec. 19.—The arrivals of Grain in general this week are moderate. Wheat finds buyers readily at 2s. per quarter advance on the prices of Monday. Barley is brisk in disposal, and again looking upwards. In Beans and Peas there is no alteration. Oats meet a brisk trade, and fully maintain the prices quoted at the beginning of this week.

Monday, Dec. 22.—The arrivals of all descriptions of Corn last week were tolerably good, and this morning there is a considerable quantity of Wheat from Essex and Kent, but a deficient supply from other parts. Barley, Beans, Peas, and Oats, are here in middling quantities, hardly sufficient for the present demand. The Wheat trade this morning commenced brisk, and 3s. to 4s. per quarter advance was obtained on the prices of last Monday, but the trade became duller towards the close, and the morning's rates were not quite supported.

Malting Barley is further advanced 1s. to 2s. per quarter, and grinding parcels sell on rather better terms. Beans and Grey Peas are each 1s. per quarter higher. The trade for Oats has been lively since this day se'nnight, and dry samples obtain rather more money, but the general trade has only realized the prices of that day; we therefore do not alter the quotations. Flour is in unsettled state:

at two o'clock it was not decided whether that trade should be advanced 5s.

Flour, per sack 50s. to 55s.
 ——— Seconds 45s. — 48s.
 ——— North Country .. 40s. — 44s.

Price of Bread.—The price of the 4lb. Loaf is stated at from 6½d. to 9½d.

SMITHFIELD, Monday, Dec. 22.

Per Stone of 8 pounds (alive).

	s.	d.	½.	d.
Beef	3	0	to	4 0
Mutton	3	4	—	4 2
Veal	4	6	—	5 6
Pork	4	0	—	5 2

Beasts ... 2,689 | Sheep ... 13,510
 Calves 91 | Pigs 170

NEWGATE (same day).

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	½.	d.
Beef	2	4	to	3 4
Mutton	2	6	—	3 6
Veal	3	4	—	5 4
Pork	3	2	—	5 2

LEADENHALL (same day).

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	½.	d.
Beef	2	4	to	3 8
Mutton	2	8	—	3 6
Veal	3	4	—	5 8
Pork	3	0	—	5 4

POTATOES.

SPITALFIELDS.—per Ton.

Ware £ 2 0 to £3 15
 Middlings..... 1 10 — 1 15
 Chats..... 1 10 — 0 0
 Common Red.. 0 0 — 0 0
 Onions.. 0s. 0d.—0s. 0d. per bush.

BOROUGH.—per Ton.

Ware..... £2 5 to £3 10
 Middlings..... 1 15 — 2 0
 Chats..... 1 15 — 0 0
 Common Red.. 0 0 — 0 0
 Onions.. 0s. 0d.—0s. 0d. per bush.

HAY and STRAW, per Load.

Smithfield.—Hay.... 75s. to 100s.

Straw... 32s. to 40s.

Clover.. 85s. to 115s.

St. James's.—Hay.... 65s. to 110s.

Straw... 36s. to 42s.

Clover.. 84s. to 110s.

Whitechapel.—Hay.... 88s. to 110s.

Straw... 36s. to 44s.

Clover.. 90s. to 130s.

Price of HOPS, per Cwt. in the BOROUGH.

Monday, Dec. 22.—Our Market gets bare of 1822 Pockets, which are enquired for at improved prices. New Pockets are rather dearer: accounts continue to be received from various quarters of the decayed state of the hills, from the effect of the late blight. Currency: —Pockets, 1823, 8l. 15s. to 14l.; 1822, 8l. to 10l.; 1821, 90s. to 112s.; 1819 and 1820, 65s. to 80s.

Maidstone, Dec. 18.—Our Hop trade continues so very dull we can hardly call it a market. The prices are quoted about the same, but there is nothing stirring.

Worcester, Dec. 13.—Sixteen packets of Old Hops were this day weighed in our market. Very little doing, and that at a reduction in price: 1818, 40s. to 56s.; 1819, 80s. to 100s. fine; 1820, 70s. to 84s. ditto; 1821, 70s. to 105s. ditto; 1822, 120s. to 160s. per ditto.

COAL MARKET, Dec. 17.

Ships at Market. Ships sold. Price.

145½ Newcastle, 42½ .. 36s. 6d. to 44s. 0d.
145½ Sunderland 42½ .. 36s. 0d. — 42s. 6d.

COUNTRY CORN MARKETS.

By the QUARTER, excepting where otherwise named; from Wednesday to Saturday last, inclusive.

The Scotch Markets are the Returns of the Week before.

WHEAT.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Uxbridge, per load	12l.	0s.	18l.	0s.
Aylesbury, ditto	9l.	0s.	15l.	10s.
Newbury	46	0	—	76
Reading	42	0	—	70
Henley	48	0	—	74
Banbury	44	0	—	60
Devizes	42	0	—	67
Warminster	42	0	—	66
Shaftesbury	0	0	—	0
Dorchester, per load ...	11l.	0s.	17l.	0s.
Exeter, per bushel	8	6	—	9
Lewes	48	0	—	66
Guildford, per load ...	12l.	0s.	17l.	10s.
Winchester, ditto	12l.	0s.	17l.	5s.
Basingstoke	42	0	—	60
Chalton, per load ...	9l.	10s.	14l.	10s.
Yarmouth	54	0	—	60
Hungerford	45	0	—	66
Lynn	42	0	—	60
Horncastle	48	0	—	55
Stamford	44	0	—	59
Northampton	45	0	—	51
Truro, 24 galls. to a bush.	0	0	—	0
Swansea, per bushel ...	8	0	—	0
Nottingham	57	0	—	0
Derby, 34 quarts to bush.	54	0	—	64
Newcastle	38	0	—	66
Dalkeith, per boll* ...	20	0	—	35
Haddington, ditto* ...	25	0	—	34

* The Scotch boll is 3 per cent more than 4 bushels.

Liverpool, Dec. 16.—During the past week, the imports of which have been far from considerable, there was some speculation gone into for the purchase of both English and Irish Wheats at an advance on each, as well as on Flour, Oats, and Oatmeal. The market of this day was but indifferently attended by country dealers; but the spirit for speculation remaining lively at home, there was a fair business done at an advance of 3d. per bushel on the finest English Wheats, and on the lower qualities of Irish 6d. per bushel, leaving the average price on the former 7s. 6d. to 10s. per 70 lbs., and on the latter 6s. 9d. to 8s. 9d. per 70 lbs. English Oats 3s. to 3s. 6d. per 45 lbs., and Irish 3s. to 3s. 4d. per 45 lbs. Barley also improved 6d. per 60 lbs., as did Oats 1d. to 2d. per 45 lbs. Flour 2s. to 3s., and Oatmeal 1s. to 2s. per sack higher.

Imported into Liverpool, from the 9th to the 15th December 1823 inclusive:—Wheat, 3,810; Oats, 9,145; Barley, 2,019; Malt, 102; and Beans, 228 quarters. Oatmeal, 126 packs, per 240 lbs. Flour, 1,230 sacks.

Norwich, Dec. 22.—There was a good deal of briskness in the trade here to-day, at an advance of price, particularly for prime samples of Wheat, which fetched from 56s. to 62s.; Barley, 28s. to 31s.; Oats, 20s. to 24s. per quarter. So great has been the demand for Rye to convert into breakfast powder, that this article has advanced from 28s. to 56s. per quarter.

Bristol, Dec. 20.—The markets at this place are rather better supplied with Corn, &c. than they have been, and prices at present are about as follow:—Best Wheat from 8s. to 8s. 3d.; inferior ditto, 4s. 6d. to 6s. 6d.; Barley, 2s. 6d. to 4s.; Beans, 3s. 6d. to 5s. 3d.; Oats, 2s. to 2s. 10d.; and Malt, 4s. 6d. to 6s. 9d. per bushel. Flour, Seconds, 30s. to 48s. per bag.

Birmingham, Dec. 16.—The prices of Wheat and Flour have again risen in this market; the former about 4d. per 60 lbs., and the latter 2s. per sack. Barley has also advanced 2s. per quarter. Beans and Peas met a more ready sale at the last quotations. Oats and Malt steady. There was a pretty good show of Barley and New Wheat; the sales of both were brisk, and the whole nearly cleared off. The retail price of Flour has advanced 2d. per 14 lbs.

Ipswich, Dec. 20.—We had to-day a good supply of every thing but Beans, and the market was much dearer. Prices as follow:—Old Wheat, 56s. to 63s.; New ditto, 48s. to 60s.; Barley, 24s. to 33s.; Beans, New, 32s. to 35s.; Peas, 30s. to 31s.; and Oats, 22s. to 26s. per quarter.

Wisbech, Dec. 20.—Good dry barn samples of Wheat met with a ready sale, at an advance of full 2s. per quarter; and the second and ordinary sorts equally so in advance. Oats rather brisker in demand. Beans without alteration.

Boston, Dec. 17.—We had at this day's market a good supply of all kinds of Grain, which was carried off at better prices than what has been of late, and still continues to be up, and sold as follows:—Wheat, New, 50s. to 56s.; Old ditto, 58s.; Oats, 18s. to 22s.; Beans, New, 26s.; Old ditto, 36s. to 39s. per quarter.

Wakefield, Dec. 19.—We have a short supply of Grain up the river, but a good supply by the farmers; having many buyers, fine Wheats, new and old, are eagerly bought up at an advance of full 3s. to 4s. per quarter.—Malting Barley is in demand at an advance of full 3s. per quarter: no alteration in Grinding Barley.—Oats are 4d. per stone, and Shelling 1s. per load higher.—Beans, old and new, are ready sale

at 1s. to 2s. per quarter advance.—Malt 2s. per quarter higher.—Flour is 2s. per bag dearer.—No alteration in other articles.

Malton, Dec. 20.—The Cornmarkets here appear more lively than they have for some weeks, and more money given, especially for Old Wheat, New dry ditto, and good Barley. Prices as follow:—Old Wheat, 64s. to 72s.; New ditto, 60s. to 62s. per quarter, five stone per bushel. Barley, 30s. to 33s. per quarter. Oats, 11½d. to 12d. per stone.

COUNTRY

CATTLE AND MEAT MARKETS, &c.

Norwich Castle Meadow, Dec. 20.—On account of the badness of the day but little business was done to-day, and that at rather lower rates, say from 3s. 6d. to 4s. per stone for lean Beasts out of the drove. We do not know whether the above be quite comprehensible to distant readers; but it may be thus explained.—A Norfolk man, on buying a lot of lean bullocks, calculates from their frame, bone, &c. when lean, what weight they will attain when fat. If, for instance, he estimate them to come to 40 stone (the stone here always meaning 14 lbs.) and he is asked 8l. a piece for them, he reckons that they cost him 4s. a stone. Sheep are rather lower, especially fat things; Hoggets are worth from 18s. to 22s. according to quality.—Turkeys, owing to the badness of the day, declined very much in price towards the close of the market; the same fowls for which 1s. per lb. were asked in the morning, might be bought in the afternoon for 7d.

Horncastle, Dec. 20.—Beef 5s. to 6s. per stone of 14 lbs.; Mutton 4d. to 5d.; Pork 5d. to 5½d.; and Veal 6d. to 7d. per lb.

Bristol, Dec. 18.—Beef at 5*d.* to 5½*d.*; Mutton 5*d.* to 6*d.*; and Pork 4*d.* to 5*d.* per lb. sinking offal.

Malton, Dec. 20.—Meat in the shambles:—Beef 4½*d.* to 6½*d.*; Mutton 4½*d.* to 6*d.*; Pork 5½*d.* to 6½*d.*; and Veal 5½*d.* to 6½*d.* per lb. Fresh Butter, 13*d.* to 14½*d.* per lb.; Salt ditto, 42*s.* to 43*s.* per firkin. Fat Pigs, with head and feet on, 4*s.* 4*d.* to 4*s.* 8*d.*; stripped for salting, 4*s.* 8*d.* to 5*s.* per stone.

Morpeth market on Wednesday was well supplied with Cattle and

Sheep; there being a great demand, fat sold readily at last week's price.—Beef from 4*s.* 6*d.* to 5*s.* 6*d.*; and Mutton 4*s.* 3*d.* to 5*s.* 3*d.* per stone, sinking offals.

At *Wakefield* market last week, there was a large supply both of Beasts and Sheep; but as the approach of Christmas brought an unusual number of buyers thither, a brisk demand took place, and both met with ready sale, fully supporting the prices of the preceding market.—Beasts, 604; Sheep and Lambs, 9,550.

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